

Pausanias in Athens: An Archaeological Commentary on the Agora of Athens.

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Abstract

Pausanias' eye-witness description of Greece has been used as an essential tool by scholars and laymen alike to clarify Greek sites to explain archaeological findings. This commentary analyses what Pausanias described, and reassesses his work in the light of new evidence and arguments. Thus the process is reversed, archaeology is taken to Pausanias, which regularly verifies his account. This method has resulted in possible answers to some outstanding archaeological problems: such as the location of the Enneakrounos as well as the Aphrodite Ourania sanctuary. In the same way, just analysing the language Pausanias uses alongside the archaeological record, possible solutions can be found to questions unanswered so far by archaeology alone, for instance the position of the Eleusinion. By analysing other ancient sources in conjunction with Pausanias' description it appears that the exact area the name Kerameikos covered changed in different periods. Also a virtual 'silence' in his text may reveal the location of the long lost Leokoreion. Since arguably the most important artefacts to come from the ancient world are inscriptions, the weight of epigraphical evidence used in such a commentary should reflect this wherever possible. There are also photographs and line drawings of relevant architectural elements, foundations, monuments, sculpture, plans and inscriptions. The proposed route possibly taken by Pausanias is illustrated, which combined with the interdisciplinary material covered in this thesis allow access not only to Pausanias' description but also to the site of the Agora itself.

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Introduction

...ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῷ πολλῷ καὶ αὖθις γένοιτο ἄν ἕτερα τοιαῦτα.

"...time is long, and such things may happen again"

(Pausanias.10.12.11).

Pausanias' description of Athens is long and complicated. So much has been found, and so many points of history could be discussed that in order to do justice to his description only monuments and buildings relating to the topography of the Agora are dealt with here. The essential objective of this commentary has been to bring archaeology to Pausanias. To examine the archaeology of the Agora and to analyse Pausanias' description in relation to such findings. So much has been excavated and interpretations made and discussed over the last century that a new look at the text of Pausanias is needed. It is not my intention to write an historical, mythological or linguistic commentary, but to concentrate on archaeological evidence and interpretation.

Previous scholarship

Arafat's book on Pausanias' Greece provides a thorough coverage of the historical aspects of Roman Greece as known to Pausanias. For points of Hellenistic history reference should be made to Musti's work on Hellenistic Greece and Pausanias, and also P.M.Fraser's work on Alexandria for points of Ptolemaic history. Unfortunately there has been no global overview of Pausanias' historical passages, rather specialised detailed analyses of certain points in history have been preferred by modern commentators. This is not surprising since so much could be written about individual episodes which Pausanias has described. Pausanias himself set boundaries (Paus.1.20.4 "I must leave for those who want to find out the history of Mithridates and I shall restrict my account to the capture of Athens").

Musti and Beschi's enlightening work on Pausanias was not intended to be a full archaeological commentary. Papahadzis' commentary is full of beautiful illustrations and is a valuable book in this respect. However, again, the lack of references in his commentary frustrates, particularly the epigraphical evidence which is often just alluded to or written out with no indication of where it can be found. Dindorf's edition and translation have been used occasionally, where it has been found most interesting on points of curiosity. An excellent school level commentary was written by Carroll, which

although out-of-date provides a number of helpful points regarding translation and makes his text accessible. The structure of the commentary is also clear and his style easy to read.

Conventions used in this thesis

The traditional format of a commentary has been preserved since it was felt more useful to present findings in such a way. Certain details of sculptors and painters which can easily be found elsewhere, for instance in A.Stewart (1990), are not repeated here, thus there is no argument over places of birth, genealogies or lists of other works, unless they have some direct bearing on Pausanias' description. In nearly all instances discussion of the archaeological evidence is put first, whether it be foundations, inscriptions or iconography, unless discussion of other points needed to come first in order to make sense of the archaeology.

The dating of letter forms by and large follows Immerwahr and Jeffery and differences are noted as and when necessary. For the text Rocha-Pereira's excellent edition is used. The translations of Pausanias' description and other texts and inscriptions in the commentary are my own, unless otherwise stated. All dates are BC, unless labelled AD.

Essential secondary source material, which was gratefully used, includes the indispensable *Arx Athenarum* of Jahn and Michaelis, now reprinted by Ares Publishers and *LIMC*, and the primary sources in *IG* and *SEG*. So much has been discovered and analysed since Frazer's monumental commentary on Pausanias was published, that as a rule any references to secondary literature which can be found in Frazer's commentary, unless the work has not been superseded, have been left out.

A bibliography is included at the beginning of each section, listed chronologically, and then in alphabetical order. Such a structure was chosen after having used Frazer's commentary which has all the references grouped at the end. Reference is made back to the bibliography at the beginning of the section within the commentary itself. This is to facilitate research on individual subjects. The titles written out in full are not repeated in the main bibliography at the end. The main bibliography itself may appear copious, but owing to the interdisciplinary nature of the thesis, recourse must be had to a broad range of primary and secondary sources. Thus the decision was made to separate some works and to place them at the beginning of each section, in order to aid use.

In many instances the Athenian museum number of a certain piece is given even though *LIMC* is also referred to; this is merely a research aid, and one which is

particularly valuable when studying in Athens. Thus they are included for ease of reference, not because it is assumed the 'reader' would be incapable or disinclined to look up the *LIMC* references themselves. Illustrations are gathered together at the back of the thesis. Any study on the mythology of the ancient world would be incomplete without recourse to *LIMC*, and this is especially true with Pausanias, where nearly every other sentence in his *Description* includes some mention of an ancient mythological image, scene or event.

Where the term 'Agora' is used, the Ancient Greek Agora is referred to, while the 'Roman Agora' is so called. This is different from the use in Pausanias, who calls the area of the Ancient Greek Agora the 'Kerameikos', while the Roman Agora, which during his time was indeed a "Market place" (the correct translation of Agora), he calls the 'Agora' (see *Index s.v. Kerameikos*). The Greek Agora had by Pausanias' time been so filled with religious and civic buildings that there was no room for a market, thus the area of the Roman Agora had been established as the new centre for market trade. Also in most instances, Pausanias seems to have seen what he actually described, which is reflected in the commentary (as Veyne, (1988):3).

Manuscripts

The manuscripts of Pausanias' text that have survived are very poor (Rocha-Pereira, (1989):v-xxi). They all derive from an exemplar by Niccolò Niccoli of Florence (1364-1437). The earliest manuscript extant dates to the fifteenth century, which is unfortunate since all the other copies known evolve from this one. Between 1490 and 1504 most activity is recorded. The excellent edition by Rocha-Pereira (1989-90) seems to have ironed out a great number of rough spots, reducing the need and, to some extent, the desire to analyse the text once more. It is therefore only in certain instances where the text is corrupt that problems arise. In contrast, where problems arose before there seems to be little cause for alarm. This is notable in the Athena Ergane passage (1.24.3). At this point no variants are noted by Rocha-Pereira, (*ad loc.*), in contrast to the worried note that had been made by Jones (Jones, (1992):120, unrevised reprint of the first edition of 1918). To this degree the text been cleared of unnecessary problems.

Reception of his work

In the 1930's Pausanias was respected for what he preserved, but prior to that date there were two different camps. One of these believed Pausanias (Harrison and Verrall, (1890):410; Tarn, (1910):216; Henderson, (1923):106,114 "archaeologist Pausanias", which is tempered with "gossiping guide book"; Casson, (1974):294-5; Calder,

(1980):150, "the father of field archaeology"; Wycherley, (1982):188-189,191: "stay with Pausanias"; Henrichs, (1994):31,n.23); Habicht, (1985b): 77). The other camp, distrusting Pausanias, is epitomised in the great Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (cf."Die beiden Elektren" *Hermes* 18:251, n.2; see also references in Heer, (1979):18-21).

The exploitation of Pausanias' text for pearls of wisdom and ancient archaeology began with Stephanus of Byzantium in the time of Justinian, a fact not unknown to many working on Pausanias (see Habicht, (1985):1). It seems that from that moment on it was determined how Pausanias was for ever after to be treated. Apart from those who have dismissed his work, his *Description* has been dissected and fragmented by historians and archaeologists, biographers and commentators. But so many have turned to Pausanias which indicates how much his description has been valued. Also the use of his work has produced some of the most startling and important breakthroughs especially in the last two centuries, particularly in the realms of archaeology.

Pausanias' account has also been criticised for omitting various monuments, that his description, particularly of Athens, is haphazard and unstructured. Before so much archaeological evidence had been amassed and analysed, one comment on Pausanias reads: "we have abundant evidence that Pausanias was an inaccurate observer and a slipshod describer" (Harrison and Verrall, (1890):410). Such a comment, made at the end of the nineteenth century, can now, at the end of the twentieth, be dismissed since the bulk of archaeological evidence does nothing but bolster his account. It is by taking archaeology back to Pausanias that it can be seen just how accurate Pausanias' description was. In retrospect it seems rather harsh to have criticised him for not providing a description of all the things he saw, when as he clearly states he only includes the things he considered worth mentioning. As said before it depends on the criteria set, and Pausanias' was clear: to describe all things which he considered to be interesting and which related to the history of Greece. Pausanias' description of Attika was his first attempt and there is some evidence to believe that it had been published once, and that what we have now is a later 'edition' adjusted in answer to various criticisms which seem to have been made (Habicht, (1985):7-8). Also Pausanias' description of Olympia is like a detailed catalogue of the most interesting statues and monuments there, while in fact Pausanias' enthusiasm for the site, its history and its religious practices causes him to go around the site three times. This makes it a troublesome account for us today, but to Pausanias' contemporaries such a description, broken down essentially into religion, history and athletic victors, would have structured a visit there. "We are still indebted to Pausanias for many insights into the embellishment of the sanctuary. The extent of

modern archaeology commentaries on Pausanias at Olympia is itself testament to the accuracy of his description" (Arafat, (1995):461-62).

Wilamowitz undervalued Pausanias, and his scholarly interpretation was rather jaded through his biased opinion of him. Fortunately, Pausanias studies are currently enjoying a new lease of life as the conference held recently on Pausanias celebrates (Musti, (1996)). Pausanias has recently been described quite simply as an "ancient traveller and expert on Greek sanctuaries" (Henrichs, (1994):31). My intention has been to have another look at his text with the knowledge of archaeology, rather than to use his text to explain the archaeology we have. The result has been enlightening, and very valuable, as I hope will be seen. I am not the first to trust in Pausanias, others have advised this too: "...it is only lately, as a few great sites have been thoroughly excavated and studied, that we have learned to read Pausanias properly, to follow his signals" (Robertson, in Neils, (1996):39). It has also been noted that his work is "most curious and most useful for the archaeologist" and "is our principal aid in identifying many of the buildings" (Camp, (1992):16). At the turn of the twentieth century, it was written "...we must not attribute to Pausanias such elementary ignorance" (Tarn, (1910):216). It is a just warning and one which is heeded by the vast majority of scholars who use Pausanias' text to help explain sites as well as to guide the trowel of the archaeologist.

One critic of Pausanias complained that "Pausanias seldom bothers to record inscriptions" (Forte, (1972):423-24). Is this true? Pausanias quotes thirty-nine inscriptions in his description and cites more than 200 (*SEG* 41 (1991):1781). If one looks at Pausanias' description of Elis, the numerous statues he describes, the names of the victors and in what they were victorious, Pausanias must have had a source for their names and the reason why they had their images set up. It becomes increasingly clear the more one reads this account of Olympia that Pausanias must have been using the inscriptions for this information. This is clarified by the language used and the style employed by Pausanias (see below, s.v. Style; Tzifopoulos, (1991); cf. Delphi, Lacroix, (1992):157-176). This must have been the most truthful information which Pausanias could have access to. Pausanias used inscriptions at Elis, and throughout his description (Whittaker, (1991):171, 172, table 1). Pausanias must have used them to tell him who an image was of and to whom it was dedicated, why it had been set up, and when. Also Pausanias could have found the name of the sculptor, in most instances, from the inscription (Whittaker, (1991):175). In his description of the 'group' of Demeter, Kore and Iakchos set up on the dromos from the Dipylon gate to the Agora, Pausanias notes that the lettering on the wall is Attic. He is not singling out the inscription because he does not usually read them, but rather because there was something unusual about the letter forms which he thought was

worthy of comment. It may also indicate that Pausanias recognised the problem that the style of the lettering was too early for Praxiteles, thus causing concern for comment (see *Index s.v. Demeter, Kore and Iakchos*). This is the case throughout the whole of his work, and can be most clearly seen in his description of the monuments in Elis and Delphi, but it is no less true in Athens, although it is more difficult to spot.

Biography

Pausanias' identity has been discussed by Habicht, and I do not intend to reiterate the points discussed by him there (Habicht, (1986):8-17). It has been suggested that he was Pausanias of Damascus (supported by Kalkmann (1886):11, Robert, (1909):271-73, and Kern, (1938):186; references found in Habicht, (1986):8, n.11). This has been disputed and is the most recent opinion, but it still remains an open question (Meyer, (1967):14; Diller, (1955):268-79; Gurlitt, (1890):64-67). There was a Sophist known as Pausanias, mentioned by Philostratus, who taught Claudius Aelian at Rome so well, that the student wrote Attic so convincingly that his words seemed to have come from a native (Philost.vit.soph.2.31.1; Kaimio, (1979):250). This Pausanias is not likely to have been our author since Claudian was born in about AD170, and if the current dating of our Pausanias is accepted, then he was likely to have been too old or even dead by the time Claudian was old enough to be taught, although it was said that Pausanias taught him when a young boy at school.

Pausanias was born c.115AD, and must have died sometime between AD175 (the latest datable event he mentions is Marcus Aurelius' victory over the Germans) and AD180 (when Marcus Aurelius died, who is the latest emperor named by Pausanias; Habicht, (1985b):13). Pausanias lived and wrote in the second century AD, the time of the "Second Sophistic" (Gleason, (1994)). His contemporaries, Aelius Aristides and Herodes Atticus for instance were all engaged, like himself, in the examination of many different aspects of ancient history and culture. The great interest was Athens and Attika, not only the history but also the literature and the style of the classical authors. This meant that those who were part of the Second Sophistic movement, began to Atticize their work (Gelzer in Flashar, (1978):1-55; Engeli, (1907)). Thus a desire to write pure Attic arose using and abusing examples from Classical literature (Anderson, (1993):chapter 9; Fritz, (1941); Diller, (1952)). Members of the 'Second Sophistic' came from the aristocracy of the provinces (Anderson, (1993), chapter 1). Most of the authors who wrote in this period were not interested in history after Alexander the Great, although there seems to be some evidence that Pausanias may have used Hellenistic as well as later sources, see below (Hejnic, (1961):63ff).

The World of Pausanias

The world in which Pausanias lived and wrote was subject to the Romans. Asia Minor where he may have been born and spent most of his life, was governed by them. It has been suggested that Pausanias wrote his *Description of Greece* in order to remove himself from the position of being subject to the Romans (Elsner, (1992):3). Did Pausanias, being aware of his 'subject' status, feel so pressurised that he was compelled to write a massive work glorifying Greece's past? If so, the work would be seen in a new light: Pausanias should then acquire activist status. If he was writing from a position of unrest, his whole glorification of Greece could be seen as an act of subversive behaviour. But there does not seem to be evidence to support this. It is, however, thought that his work was not actually received well when it was first published (Habicht, (1985b):7-8). If there had not been an audience for his work, then if any protest was being made by Pausanias, it fell on deaf, or at least, wary ears. In Pausanias' account there does not seem to be that pent up anger one would expect to see in someone fearing that he was losing his cultural identity, which is the implication in Elsner's thesis ("[Pausanias], a single Greek,...used myths of the ancient Greek past and the sacred associations of pilgrimage *to shield himself* from the full implications of being a subject," Elsner, (1992):3). Rather the anger he expresses relates to individual episodes in which someone is not appreciated by the people, rather than abuse by a governor. This is to miss the mark of the society in which the Greeks actually lived in Asia Minor. They had a strong cultural identity, which in fact was even courted by the Romans, who in their desire to be purists, learnt Greek and even wrote literature in Greek. The Romans wanted Greek works of art to show how 'cultured' they were (Richter, (1984):13-15), and especially by Pausanias' time members of the Imperial family became initiated into Greek mystery cults (especially the Eleusinian Mysteries). Thus it was chic for members of the Roman elite to be 'Greek'. If the Greeks felt pressure, it was a pressure to maintain one's own Greekness, which Elsner brings out clearly in his article (Elsner, (1992):3-29; Browning, (1989):8-10). This desire to learn about one's past is shown by the fact that travel in the Imperial period became centred on education (Elsner, (1992):6, n.14). For Pausanias this provided the mainstay of his text. His aim to educate his 'readers' (Paus.3.18.10: ἐπιλεξόμενοι) is upheld throughout the whole of his *Description*. For him 'all things Greek' are his criteria (Paus.9.36.5), he wants to inform his fellow Greeks about the amazing things which can be seen in their own native country. The Greece he describes excludes Thessaly and Macedonia, not surprisingly, since his aim is to describe Greece proper (Jacob, (1980):68-73).

Tourism has been popular, at least since the Hellenistic times (with the exception of Herodotus in Egypt), often spurred by the interest of a particular area, some recent news or some great past event. In most cases it is the beauty of the place which impels people to visit, or indeed the exceptional state of preservation of past monuments. An ancient battle field, a site of an old house now gone and replaced by a high-rise block, even a market town which is a delight for a bargain hunter, are often personal, stimulating and memorable destinations. In Pausanias' time Greece was not just a place on the map, which was marked out by its buildings and monuments; rather, in many ways it had become a symbol of an age and ancestors who had passed. Interest in Greece was popular in the Hellenistic period as well and it spread not just throughout Asia Minor where Pausanias probably came from but also Alexandria, Rome and Magna Graecia (Chamoux, (1981):402ff). Many of the families of those who lived in Asia Minor and north Egypt had originally come from Greece, therefore a visit, interest and knowledge of the country, reflected one's level of self-esteem and pride in one's ancestry. This is no less evident in Pausanias himself, who, while most proud of his own land of Asia Minor and his own cultural identity (as Elsner, (1992):16), is also clearly inspired by the religious ardour displayed by the Athenians. Indeed in many ways despite Pausanias' interest it is clear that he is always the observer, never the participant; as has been noted, he "wrote of a people from the outside looking in" (Alcock, (1996):242).

Hadrian

Pausanias describes a great number of buildings which Hadrian had set up in Athens, and heaps praise on this Emperor. It was not just Hadrian who made benefactions or set up dedications and monuments, other Romans had done so as well (Erskine, (1994):70-87). Pausanias did not mention a great number of these, because they did not fit the criteria under which he was writing his *Description*, which is why he preferred to concentrate on dedications made by Hadrian. This is because Hadrian had adopted Greek culture, and the buildings he commissioned reflected the style of Greek classical architecture, for instance the Olympieion in Athens. This Temple was significant since Peisistratos had started the building project. Pausanias was to include only all things Greek, and so Hadrian who embraced and respected Greek culture, became for Pausanias a candidate for inclusion throughout his *Description of Greece*. This also explains why at nearly every mention of the emperor, Pausanias notes some good thing about Hadrian, either in relation to the Athenians or the Greeks as a whole.

This Philhellenism spread to Rome. Wealthy Romans desired to copy certain images which for them summed up an aspect of Greek, and particularly Athenian, history

(see Elsner, (1992):3-29, the past of the Greeks weighing on their shoulders). Thus numerous copies were made of original Greek bronzes and other sculpture, for instance of athletes, philosophers, the tragic poets. Interestingly there does not seem to have been a great number of copies made of the comic poets, possibly because they seemed too trivial and not 'serious' enough for the Roman purpose, which essentially after all was to show how cultured they were, that they were aware of the origins of philosophy, art and sport (Richter, (1984):13-15).

Personality

What sort of a man was Pausanias? From comments he makes throughout his description he was clearly religious, principled and proud. When Pausanias saw the statue of Demosthenes he was prompted to make a character judgement on the Athenian people (Paus.1.8.4). According to Pausanias the orator loved the Athenians too much and as a result, after immersing himself in his country's affairs and placing his trust in the people, he was exiled, and so drank poison and died. Pausanias' bitterness at what the Athenian people did to Demosthenes through their disloyalty provoked by convenient memories, is clearly shown here. Pausanias is of the opinion that you are only as good as your last deed. Further to this, in another instance, Pausanias again reports someone's ungrateful action towards another who had shown them generosity. In this instance Kassander brought down Antigonos, even though he had been generous to him (Paus.1.6.7). It is possible that Pausanias himself may have been on the receiving end of someone's ingratitude. His inclusion of these episodes in his *Description*, along with comments highlighting certain individual's acts of injustice, seem to indicate an anger within himself.

Pausanias also believes that divine intervention into the affairs of men was an actuality, especially in past times. For instance he mentions that the children of Pandion were not blessed by heaven, and in the same passage Pausanias notes that no one can escape one's duty when it has come from god (Paus.1.5.4). In a similar way there is an implication in Herodotus, that man could not foresee what would happen in the reign of Darius, since even though in retrospect it was evident that there had been a number of portents, men could not have prevented the actual event from happening, since the patterns were not recognisable (Hdt.6.98; Stewart Gilman, (1987):195-96). Pausanias is also a tolerant man, who accepts the characters of those whose images he saw, and those whose works of literature he used. This is especially true of Homer and Hesiod, who as Pausanias notes in the same passage, did not live with kings (Paus.1.2.3). Hesiod, being a country-man, did not want to keep moving, whereas Homer valued his reputation more

than any riches that could be bestowed upon him. This idealisation of Homer's predicament is probably rooted in the fact that most bards were from lower classes, and since Pausanias puts so much stock in what Homer says, he felt he had to justify Homer's likely financial situation, stressing that his popularity was all that mattered to the poet.

Pausanias' Intention, Motivation and Procedure

It is difficult to know what Pausanias' primary aim had been. Lascaris who copied the text from an archetype which is now lost, deduced that Pausanias was not only a periegete, but also an historian as inspired by Herodotus (as later Pfundtner, (1866)). This impelled him to head his copy: Παυσανίου ιστοριογράφου ιστορίαι (Chamoux, (1996):45; the manuscript is in the National Library in Madrid; Matritensis 5464). The tradition of a travel book went back into Hellenistic times (Arafat, (1992):388,n.4, for instance Douris of Samos, (c.340-260)). Arafat also points out that, while Pausanias' account is "deeply personal", it is also the product of his time and the society he was born into.

Pausanias seems to make a distinction between the time when history was recorded and the period before this, what we would call prehistory. Arafat points out that Pausanias did not accept popular tradition, rather he wanted to look at the heroic age (the so-called "golden Age") and its relationship with the prehistoric period, separating the two periods of antiquity into "ancient" and "very ancient"; he concludes that in Pausanias prehistory is "not one amorphous entity... but layered and structured" (Arafat, (1992):398-99). Herodotus described the heroic age as being "what is called" the historical age (3.122). Similarly Pausanias also chose to follow the historian in believing that popular opinion placed the heroic age in the historical age. Pausanias however only follows at a distance with a hint of cynicism: "they call" it the historical age (9.9.1), thus separating himself from the opinion and putting it in the mouths of others.

Pausanias digresses on points of history throughout his commentary. In such instances, it is the objects themselves which provide the spring-board for Pausanias' digressions. The study of Pausanias' work is becoming increasingly more popular, not just in his description of the monuments and buildings, but also on points of history (Bearzot, (1992), on points of Hellenistic History; Auberger, (1992):187-197, 257-80). One of the more awkward episodes of history which Pausanias recounts is Gallos' embassy to Greece in his description of Achaia (Paus.7.11.1-2). It may seem a confused version of Polybios' account (Polyb.31.1.2-8). But in fact the two authors are recording events of two separate embassies, which exculpates Pausanias once more. Also there has been an increased awareness of Pausanias' version of myths, particularly in his

divergence from Ovid (for instance Massenzio, (1992):7-19; cf. Lafond, (1991):27-45). It is difficult to know whether Pausanias had access to a text of Polybios. Frazer thought he did (Frazer, (1898)I: 73-74), but more recently this has been disputed since Pausanias stops his king list about 222, from which it is assumed Pausanias did not know Polybios' 'second' and 'fourth' books (Meadows, (1995):101, n.47). In his history of Achaia it is also thought that his information in this case essentially came from Polybios (Lafond, (1991):28).

Pausanias was hesitant to accept all myths, more than once he adds to a story "Believe this who will" (Paus.5.1.8:...ὅτῳ πιστά...). In another instance he notes that he has to report the stories of the Greeks, but that he does not have to believe them all (Paus.6.3.8: ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν λέγειν μὲν τὰ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενα ἀνάγκη, πείθεσθαι δὲ πᾶσιν οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη). He dismissively mentions that most people do not have any historical knowledge, they believe lies and whatever they learnt as children from orators or tragedians (Paus.1.3.3). Did Pausanias see it then as part of his mission to educate those ignorant of the truth? The differentiation between true historical fact, or at least that most likely to have happened, and an obvious story made up to fill in a hole in an account is Pausanias' business. Superstition, however, is different from mythology. Pausanias chooses not to comment on whether the image of Athena Polias had actually fallen from the sky or not, but he does not regard those Athenians any less who believe the myth, since he states that the Athenians were the most pious of the Greeks (Paus.1.26.6; regarding their religious fervour see Paus.1.24.3). Pausanias does draw the line at the impossible: "I believe that a musician became a king, but I cannot believe that a bird grew from a man" (Paus.1.30.3). Therefore he respects the Athenians' belief that an image is holy, since Pausanias himself is religious and believes in the gods, but he rejects an obvious 'fairy-tale' legend about a man, which cannot possibly have happened.

It is clear that Pausanias is intending the readers of his work to actually go to Athens (and the other sites he describes). This is made more than clear on a number of occasions. For instance he tells his 'readers' that they can find out more about the cult of Demeter Chloe by talking to the priests (on the priests: Feaver, (1957):123-58). Not only does this suggest that Pausanias himself has already investigated on site but also implies the nature of the local priests, namely that they were approachable and may even have been earning extra income by providing visitors to the site with certain information. It is also clear that he intends his work to live on after him, thus he seems not only concerned with current travellers but also with future readers. For instance describing the house of Poulytion as being sacred to Dionysos in his own time indicates that Pausanias was all too aware of the transience of all things, by implication, because he expresses his

awareness that the building had once been where the parody of the Mysteries had taken place, and that now it housed a cult of Dionysos, so in the future it would change again (Paus.1.2.5).

What was the extent of Pausanias' travels? Pausanias mentions that the image of Athena Alea at Rome is there on entering the Augustan Agora (Paus.8.46.4). It is impossible to know for sure whether Pausanias actually visited Rome, but the wording of his description indicating the position of the image may imply that Pausanias is describing something from autopsy (for details of travel in Pausanias' time see, Casson, (1974); Eisner, (1991); Elsner (1994):224-54; Ruprecht, (1992)). Pausanias was clearly a traveller, and a reading of his entire description seems to indicate that he had clocked up a number of miles, not just in Greece but elsewhere, particularly Magna Graecia and his own local region, Lycia; the value of his first hand, eye-witness account cannot be over-emphasised and over-cherished. It is true that Pausanias does not often state whether he actually saw this or that monument or building (as Bowie, (1996):274). Instead Pausanias chooses to indicate direction and route by means of prepositions often with the third person verb, such as *ιοῦσι*, *ἔσελθοῦσι*, and so on throughout his description. This does not depersonalise his account, in fact this is the method and style employed by a number of modern guidebooks, so it should not be taken as evidence of Pausanias' lack of autopsy. For instance Brian de Jongh's guide to mainland Greece (1979): "Descending from St.Demetrius along Ayia Sophia Street, past the 'Acheiropoietos', one crosses Egnatia Street..." (de Jongh, (1979):196). In the same way Pausanias uses the third person verb implying the pronoun "one" which was unnecessary in Ancient Greek in which the ending of the verb indicated the number and subject of the verb. Interestingly de Jongh also makes use of prepositions and adverbs, for instance in his description of the area around the Olympieion: "Close by...; the temple itself...; Left of the entrance to the temple enclosure...; Beyond the Temple of Olympian Zeus..." (de Jongh, (1979):48). Thus it is clear that a whole series of "I saw this on the left" and "I saw that on the right", or "When I was there", and so on would make for tedious reading. So we should not feel that something is missing or that his lack of insistent first person verbs indicates that he did not see them or that he is distancing himself from his work, but rather that he was consciously adopting a manner which would be readable in bulk with easy-to-follow directions. There are clues throughout Pausanias' account which prove that he actually visited the sites. One example is his actual inspection of the supposed bones of Ajax (Paus.1.35.4-5).

Pausanias' *Description* is part of a long line of travel writers (André and Baslez, (1993):1-118; Constantine, (1984)), each having certain criteria to which they adhered,

whether it was religion, art, architecture, anthropology or history; in the same way Pausanias also stayed within the boundaries he set himself. Herakleides the Cretan had written a description of Athens beginning curiously with the theatre of Dionysos (Perrin, (1994):192-202). One thinks of Egeria, the Christian pilgrim woman, or the Bordeaux pilgrim of AD 333 (Elsner, (1992):16). From the seventeenth century a great number of British travellers visited Greece and left behind them descriptions of what they saw, in much the same way as Pausanias had done fifteen hundred years before (Angelomatis-Tsougarakis, (1990)). Sir George Wheler (1650-1723) whose *Journey into Greece* was published in 1682, visited Zante, Delos, Delphi, Corinth and Attica with Spon, who was a physician of Lyon. Richard Chandler (1738-1819) visited Greece at the instruction of the Society of the Dilettanti, his *Travels in Greece* was published between 1769 and 1776. He also visited Attika and the Aegean Islands, although he extended his trip to include Asia Minor. Probably the best known work is by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, whose *Antiquities of Athens* was published in 1762. Others have included Dodwell, who made about four hundred drawings for his *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*, London (1819). Sir William Gell, H.W.Williams, Christopher Wordsworth, W.M.Leake, H.J.G.Herbert (third Earl of Carnarvon), J.Murray, Edward Lear, J.A.Cramer and Sir John Sandys all penned something on travels in Greece, especially Athens (Glasgow, (1975)). The fascination with the ancient city continues, and an updated commentary on Pausanias' description is badly needed. The value of Pausanias' account cannot be stressed enough. He provides us with the only first hand detailed account of the buildings in Athens. Other authors mention various monuments and buildings in passing or describe some as standing near this or that object, but none give a thorough description of the whole city.

Pausanias' own words suggest that he wanted the whole of his *Description* to be referred to. This is made clear by his references to various points in other places throughout his work. For instance in his description of Attika he mentions that he will come back to the question of the sphinx in his description of Boiotia (Paus.1.24.5). In another instance, Pausanias mentions he will explain the reason why the men of Kleonai came to Attika, in his account of the Argives (Paus.1.29.7). So it seems that Pausanias had a grand scheme to which he subscribed, his cross referencing is rather ambitious and on the whole successful. Delphi is referred to in a number of other sections (for instance Paus.1.4.4, 9.3; 2.33.2, 3.4.23, 4.34.11, 7.24.4; 9.36.2). In contrast there is nothing in his description of Elis which refers to Delphi, whereas there is reference to Olympia in his description of Delphi (for example, 10.9.2). This may suggest that Pausanias visited Elis before Delphi and wrote the descriptions in that order. Reading his description away

from archaeology and not attempting to fragment his text to use as source material, but merely for the sake of reading what he has to say, provokes a surprising response within the reader (Alcock, (1996):242). His anecdotes, which seem to get in the way of the site, in fact make the reading of his account interesting and palatable.

Pausanias' aim was simple, he wanted to provide a readable account of the mythology and monuments of Greece with as much material from lesser known sources which would be palatable to an ordinary man on his travels through Greece. This 'ordinary man' would not be a scholar; in a similar way that his book is read today by many an interested party, wanting to have access to the monuments and religious beliefs, history and culture of ancient Greece, in a readable ancient source. This is also attested by the number of guide books on ancient sites which quote from his work, or rather quote but give no reference. Guides employed in Greece, Italy and Turkey make use of the stories he tells, from pankratiasts to Ptolemaic rulers, to make their talks more vivid, again without reference. In fact, scholars seem to have missed the point, Pausanias was so conscious of the danger of boring his readers that he limits himself to describing only those things which are the more unusual or unfamiliar (Paus.3.18.9-19.5. "To go through the reliefs in detail would only be boring to my readers, [my intention instead is] to give a brief description, since many of them are unfamiliar"; 1.14.6, on the origin of the colour of her eyes, he traces a cult concerning Athena back to being Libyan in origin). In fact it is in such passages that Pausanias inadvertently reveals something about the world he lived in, and the people he was writing for, since he has deliberate criteria as to what he should include and what he should leave out. This in turn reflects the amount of material his readers would have had access to, for instance where he makes reference to an historian, the assumption there is that the reader would have been able to turn to that author, such was the interest in the history, literature and mythology of the Greek world in the second century AD.

Pausanias' intention regarding history was that he did not want his description to be just a rehash of other people's histories (Paus.1.3.4, where he does not describe the seizing of Kadmeia, the Spartan defeat at Leuktra, etc.; instead he refers the reader to "Xenophon and others;" also 1.8.5, the reason why and the method of killing Hipparchos "are told by others," as Th.6.54-8). Pausanias only gives as much information of an individual event in history as he thinks suitable and then returns to the narrative (Paus.1.4.6, "digression"). In another instance he states that he will "leave the history of Mithridates, for those who want to find out" (Paus.1.20.4). This also shows that he had to do a certain amount of research himself (cf. 1.23.5, re. the Satyrs). The fact that he often dismisses the opportunity to recount an episode of history which had been written by one

of the mainstream historians, thus providing his own work with some purpose, implies that Pausanias knew the accounts would have been well-known, or accessible, to his readers. Instead Pausanias aims to tell of things less well-known (e.g., 1.2.2; 1.3.4; 1.5.1). This in itself is an indication as to the circulation of ancient authors in the second century AD. What, then, are we to make of the fact that Pausanias tells the histories of certain Hellenistic rulers (e.g., 1.8.6, Philadelphos, 1.9.4 Philip and Alexander)? It would seem that the histories of these were not *as* well circulated throughout the Greek world, although Hieronymos of Kardia was extensively used by Diodoros (Jacoby (1956):245-56). Compare the instance where Pausanias says that he need not stop to relate all the things which Ptolemy had done for the Athenians, which would imply that at least that aspect of Ptolemy's reign had reached a wider audience (Paus. 1.9.3). In fact he explicitly did not want to clutter his narrative with lists of facts, such as had been done by Thucydides (Paus. 1.3.3, "If I wanted to study genealogies, I could count the kings from Melanthos to Kleidikos, son of Aisimides;" cf. Th. 1.20). This is not a slur on the historians who chose to do so; rather he was probably grateful that they did (A.R. Meadows (1995):.97, 25, on the question of Pausanias being anti-Herodotean; the fact that Pausanias' style is similar to that of Herodotus would surely indicate emulation rather than dislike; see below *s.v. Style*; cf. Wernicke, (1884); Meadows, (1995):98, n.32, on Paus. 8.52.3, claims Pausanias hated Thucydides' subject matter, which is true only to the extent that Pausanias preferred to write about the people and personalities of history rather than basic historical happenings). Pausanias never intends his work to be a complete history (cf. Ebeling, (1913); Hejnic, (1961); Bearzot, (1992)), nor for it to duplicate another account (Paus. 1.23.9, "the Stories of Hermolykos and Phormio I omit as others have told them, but about Phormio I have a detail to add").

Sources

Pausanias had access to a variety of literary sources, preferring some to others (Ambaglio, (1991):129-138, analyses the way Pausanias reproduces historical texts, concentrating on the texts of Herodotus). Other parallels can be drawn with the practice of various authors, for instance Diodorus, Polybios, Plutarch, Arrian, Aelian, Polyaeus, Athenaeus, Apollodorus, Ptolemy, Strabo, Stephanos, Harpokration, the Suda, Hesychios, Eustathius, as well as Livy, Pliny and Justinian. The majority of these are concerned with preserving various truths about points of history or indeed they describe various monuments or works of art, certain myths or operations of cult. Sylburg used these authors, including Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, to amend the text of Pausanias. Pausanias is also eager not to overdo the variations of a story. In some instances it seems

that Pausanias just wants to include everything he found, but at other times he is selective and controlled. For instance he claims that he knows of another account of the surnames of Artemis, but does not include them, seemingly on the grounds that the poet Pamphos' account is the best and should suffice (Paus.1.29.1).

He assesses the value of the sources he uses, choosing the one he considered to be the most plausible (Paus.1.17.4, regarding Theseus in Thesprotia; although he quotes Hieronymos of Kardia because there is nothing else, and adds a comment to the effect that this narrative is probably wrong since this historian was biased, Paus.1.13.9; cf.1.18.5, the claims made by both the Delians and the Cretans to the goddess Eileithyia, where the implication is that the Delian claim is the more plausible, but Pausanias just had to mention the Cretan version to keep the record straight). The fact that he quotes a number of minor authors, poets and historians would seem to indicate that he was something of a scholar. Pausanias seems to have been so familiar with Hermesianax's work, choice of subject and style that he seems to have known what he would have written about (Paus.1.9.7). The fact that he considers Onomakritos to have been the author of the verses he mentions, rather than Musaios (1.22.7), is indicative of his familiarity with questions of authorship. It is probably more worthy of comment, that he expresses such an opinion in a "Description of Greece."

Pausanias' great reliance on, and reverence for Homer has been discussed by Frazer. In fact Pausanias mentions Homer more than any other source, two-hundred-and-thirty-five times: the *Iliad*, one-hundred-and-thirty-eight times, eighty-six times the *Odyssey* and eleven times the *Homeric Hymns*. Pausanias was not the only supporter of Homer. Strabo was also a great admirer of the poet, even though at the same time he would criticise Eratosthenes or Hipparchos (Aulac, (1966):35-36). Such a reverence for the Homeric record, while maintaining doubt for other more scientific, contemporary accounts, is very interesting and revealing (cf.Griffin, (1980)). It is probably because 'it all began with Homer.' That is to say, most of the versions of myths had their first consolidation in the epics. Therefore if one is to find an account likely to be as authentic as possible it may have been thought profitable to have recourse to the Homeric poems. This is made clear in Pausanias' description of one of the paintings in the Pinakothek on the Athenian Akropolis (Paus.1.22.6). In the painting Pausanias sees Polyxena about to be sacrificed near the grave of Achilles. Pausanias immediately adds that "Homer fortunately passed by this shameful deed". Also Pausanias uses an omission in Homer to explain the chronology of animal awareness, for instance in the case of ivory (Paus.1.12.4). He claims that because Homer included an account of the battle between the dwarfs and the cranes (*Iliad* 3.3ff) this indicated that Homer in fact had not been

aware of ivory-wearing animals, otherwise he would have written about them instead, since they would have made more interesting subjects. Pausanias does not follow Homer unquestioningly. In another instance he reports the current tradition that Oedipus first visited the Hippios Kolonos, which differs from Homer (Paus.1.30.4). On the whole, though, Pausanias was a purist, preferring the Homeric original over others which just rehash Homer's version. For instance he rejects one hexameter poem because it is just a version of Homer's account of the Sirens (Paus.10.5.7). Interestingly in the same section Pausanias himself seems to paraphrase Homer (Paus.10.8.8: "Odysseus when visiting Autolycus went hunting with his sons, and there he was wounded above his knee, by the wild boar;" cf. *Od.*19.450: "so Odysseus told them faithfully how the hunted boar had wounded him with his glistening tusk on Mount Parnassus when he went there with the sons of Autolycus").

One of the most important and valuable aspects of Pausanias' account and one which is not always discussed, is Pausanias' incorporation of local explanations or versions of history and variations of cult practice into his description. Whether the locals were the guides or others he met on his journey is difficult to say. However, we are fortunate in that in certain places he specifies (for instance Demeter Chloe, "you can learn from the priests," Paus.1.22.3). Such local information was vital to Pausanias, he wanted to include it in his description, possibly to make his account of the sites more interesting, but probably more so that he would be providing the truth (R.Thomas, (1989)). It had been thought at one time that Pausanias had not visited certain sites and that he had in fact been describing the sites by means of 'text-books' and others' descriptions, in the same way doubts have been cast over whether Herodotus actually left Greece (Fehling, (1989), cited by R.Thomas, (1996):175; Pritchett, (1993); also Wilamowitz-Möllendorff's belief that Pausanias got information regarding Hadrian from the Pantheon at Rome which is in fact totally unfounded, *Hermes* 21:623-24). But this clearly had not been the case.

Pausanias' attempt to bring an event closer by means of reporting local traditions and tales is one way of invigorating an other-wise text-book entry. A lively comment made by Paul Veyne sums up the enthusiasm I also see in Pausanias: "[Pausanias] approaches collecting local oral history with the zeal of a French provincial scholar in the days of Napoleon III" (Veyne, (1988):3). In the instances where he reports a local tradition it is more immediate, although it may not be the most accurate in retrospect. Having said this, however, one must not mistake Pausanias' intention which he states clearly in his description of Boiotia (Paus.3.11.1). He promises never to turn his back on his plan to include only the things most worthy of mention, and to choose a story from

the many which are not worthy of mention which people tell among themselves. That is, it is Pausanias' intention to select the story which in his opinion is the best one out of those told by various people. It is interesting that he expresses this intention with the utmost sincerity, and on a very personal level: "it is not possible that I will disobey" (...οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου παραβήσομαι). Pausanias' use of the phrase "it is not possible" again heightens the sincerity. From a modern standpoint it is almost funny, but we must ask ourselves: why does Pausanias put this in such strong terms? There were a number of people writing guide books contemporary with Pausanias, and as such his attempt to seem the most true would have been important when searching for 'readers'. Also since it is clear that he was writing for posterity he would have wanted to appear the most genuine and someone who had conducted proper judgmental reasoned research. Such an approach must have been considered the most successful. If one considers that similar words were added by Thucydides (Th.1.22.1-4), and when one considers how long his text survived, it becomes even more clear why Pausanias phrases his intention the way he does. Thus the search for truth becomes all important.

Pausanias does not seem to have had any Latin. His knowledge of Pliny is non-existent. This is not to say that he did not have access to some source which may have drawn certain information from Pliny or indeed from a Hellenistic source which may have been used by Pliny himself, for it seems likely that he did. But the fact remains that Pausanias does not name any Latin author as source nor does it transpire that he actually used any. The fact that Pausanias did not have access to Latin sources does not necessarily mean that those he did have access to were wrong. Pausanias in fact used many different and reliable sources. In a few instances modern research has proved them wrong, but at the time they seemed the best option to him (Kreilinger, (1997):142). The added value of Pausanias' account was that he used primary sources, both literary and epigraphical, he compared accounts and gave reasons why he chose the one he did. Pausanias also used other guides, both those written and those who were actually showing him around the sites (Paus.2.23.6; 5.20.4; Casson, (1974):308). At one point he mentions that he is led around a site by a "native guide" (Paus.1.41.2). Pausanias' honesty leads him to note in his description of Delphi that he has read all the oracles except those of Lycus (Paus.10.12.11). Just before this, Pausanias mentions that Demo was the second woman to give oracles and came from Cumae (Paus.10.12.8). His source for this was Hyperchos of Cumae. Pausanias, like Strabo, provides fragments of authors which would otherwise be lost, for instance Panyassis, son of Polyarchos who composed an epic poem on Herakles and was thought to be a rough contemporary of Herodotus (Paus.10.8.8, 29.9; 26ff; 31.4; see Deicke, (1937):37 for a comparison of Strabo with Pausanias).

Pausanias questioned the sources he had access to. For instance when he read Hieronymos the Kardian (FGrHist.154) he was aware that he would probably have written a biased account of events since he was associated with royalty, and as such may be forgiven for writing to please Antigonos (Paus.1.13.9). Also Pausanias was aware that a number of works attributed to Musaios were spurious, and so he notes this when he mentions what Musaios had been recorded as composing (Paus.1.14.3). In another instance he suggests that the correct author may have been Onomakritos, and goes so far as to say that in his opinion there are no genuine works by Musaios except a hymn to Demeter written for the Lycomidae (Paus.1.22.7). He also adds at the same place that those ascribed to Orpheus had been incorrectly assigned. The reason behind Pausanias' digressions on the variations of the story is more than an attempt on his part to bring home to his 'readers' that he was well-read and well-aware of the variants, it is part of his quest for the truth. This is enlightening, and raises awareness of the amount of literature that had been written and was to some degree still available, whether only in synopsis or titles preserved. In one instance Pausanias mentions that "Choerilus, an Athenian, who wrote a play called 'Alope', says that..." (Paus.1.14.3). Such phraseology seems to echo lexicon entries which Pausanias may have been using, but it is difficult to know.

Greeks and Romans

That Pausanias did not use any Latin sources is evidenced throughout his work. In Pausanias' account of Leaina (see below) he claimed that the story had not been told before, but Pliny and Plutarch had already told it (Paus.1.23.2). It is not surprising that Plutarch had access to Latin literature and seems to have been somewhat conversant with the tongue, since he was involved in the Roman legal procedures and was writing biographies of Romans, he must have had access to and used Latin sources. Pausanias has been criticised for being unaware that the story of Leaina had been written before. This is rather unfair and fails to take into account who Pausanias was writing for. The very fact that he claims that the story had not been written before, implies that his intended audience would not have known that the story had been written down before either. Therefore it is necessary to remove oneself from a modern stand-point and take another look at Pausanias' description and digressions. The criticism which states that his work has "rambling digressions and maddening omissions" is rather unfair when one tries to look at his description from an ancient point of view (Camp, (1992):16). His audience was most likely to have been Greek rather than Roman, which is shown by Pausanias' pride in, and glorification of, all things Greek (Bowersock, (1969):710).

Romans settled in the Greek east. Thus this area was populated by magistrates, merchants, soldiers and veterans, colonists, and tourists, students and exiles (Kaimio, (1979):35). Roman writers wrote in their mother tongue (Kaimio, (1979), table 3), although there is evidence to suggest that it depended on whether they resided in the east or the west which determined the language they chose to write in. Thus a number of Greek historians, although working in Rome, wrote in Greek (Kaimio, (1979):238). In the second century AD, there was more Greek than Latin literature (Arafat, (1996):n.77). It is also important to note that the Greeks controlled, for the most part, natural science and medicine, and that to the Romans and the Greeks at the time, the origins of most forms of literature were also Greek (Kaimio, (1979):253). Cicero, although he knew Greek and even wrote in the language occasionally, tried to create new words in Latin to cover terms in philosophy already adequately covered in Greek. Although there must have been some kind of antagonism between those Romans who wanted things Roman, and so in Latin, and those who wanted to learn Greek and study the forms in the 'original,' by the 2nd century AD, Greek was the preferred language. Greek was in effect the *lingua franca* throughout the Mediterranean (Millar, (1995b):404).

Hadrian's attitude to the Greeks spread to his subjects in Rome from where its popularity disseminated throughout the Empire in varying degrees. Needless to say the Greeks in Asia Minor did not have anything to worry about at this time (Marrou, (1956):257). The interest and even promotion of Greek by the Romans led to a tolerance of and interest in the Greeks themselves, which Hadrian helped increase during his rule by his enthusiasm for the country, customs and arts. Such was the situation that a number of easterners, writing in Greek, could become Roman senators and magistrates (Kaimio, (1979):268). It is also true to say, however, that those Greeks who wanted an official career would learn Latin (Marrou, (1956):257). By AD 150, Roman colonists were reading Greek literature, speaking Greek to friends and teaching in school in Greek, public documents were written in either Latin or Greek, even Roman cults were conducted in Greek when there was mixture of both speaking peoples (Kaimio, (1979):12, Table 2). The Emperor himself would greet the Greeks in their own language (Millar, (1993):250). According to Pelling, however, the level at which Roman authors contemporary with Plutarch, would have known Greek literature, would have been no more than that at which Plutarch knew Latin literature (Pelling, (1988):6). Also Plutarch does not display knowledge of Vergil, Propertius and other authors, which may have indicated that he did not read Latin for pleasure, in contrast to the anecdotes he makes from Greek texts, revealing that he had read widely round Greek authors (Pelling, (1988):6). Such wide reading is evident in Pausanias too. Most interesting is the fact that

Plutarch notes that his Latin improved while he was working on his *Lives* (*Dem.*2.2-4). Thus even though Plutarch had been taught Latin at school (*ad loc.*) it was only when he was engaged in the process of research that his ability in the language increased. This may explain the case with Pausanias. Pausanias does not seem to have known or at least had access to Latin sources, also possibly was just not interested in them. If he had not received adequate training when he was at school, like Plutarch, the desire to read Latin texts and Latin source material, when there was so much written in Greek, would have been very small.

Pelling sees hostility as well as interest towards the Greeks. The flourishing of the interest in Greek culture could indeed have provoked grudges. Horace's much quoted comment that the "Captive Greeks took captive her savage conqueror, and brought civilisation to barbarous Latium", although in tone self-parodying, is sarcastic and bitter, as it bears witness to the spread of Greek culture and the frenzy with which Romans adopted it (*Hor. epist.*2.1.156; Marrou, (1956):242). It also seems that there were separate educational systems, which probably engendered "monoglot local elites," preventing a quick dissemination of Greek culture (Woolf, (1994):131). Such closed circles of cultures also engendered some kind of local identity, and possibly opposition to one another to some degree, although there must have been much tolerance on the part of the Romans, for the concessions made in inscriptions which were written in Greek, and official business was also eventually conducted in Greek.

It is most important to note that most literary works in Latin never seem to have been translated into Greek, so apart from learning Latin, authors in the east would have been unaware of what was written, unless material from the Latin texts had been entered into an encyclopaedia, which at best would only have been short entries. Also Greek authors would write in Greek in order for their works to be read by the widest audience (Kaimio, (1979):271). Since Roman authors did not write in Greek it may be supposed that their "ambition" was of a different sort. While there was resistance to Roman influence in the Greek east (J.-G. Dieter, in A.Schubert, (1995)), there was no animosity towards Rome. There was hostility shown towards those Greeks who turned their backs on their own culture (Palm, cited by Crook, (1961):68-69; Pelling, (1988):5). Pausanias is not expressly anti-Roman either, rather his omission of their buildings is due to the nature of the buildings dedicated, such as stoas which could be seen all over the empire. Most importantly his aim was to write about "all things Greek", which is a telling phrase when one considers that Pausanias includes Hadrian's building works, which must have been considered Hellenic in style (*Paus.*1.26.4: πάντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά). Pausanias' 'anti-Roman' feeling was in fact directed towards individuals who had insulted the Greeks, in their

disrespect for the sanctuaries or the people, for instance Nero, or Sulla's rape of statuary. The Romans' enthusiasm for Greek literature, art and other aspects of their culture must have prompted a feeling of pride within the Greeks, since they had no need to change, and all around them the Romans were making concessions as their understanding of the people grew. Public inscriptions began to be written in the east bilingually: a Greek translation beneath the Latin one (Millar, (1995b):408). Greek versions of official Latin terms began to be written from 212 (García, (1979):33; Hahn, (1906):222-268). At Palmyra, in the early 1st century AD, for instance, the political system was modelled on the Boule and Demos, it became in effect a Greek city (Millar, (1995b):408). It seems that in the whole of the Greek east, Berytus was, perhaps, the only place of Latin culture (Millar, (1992):239, n.21). In private inscriptions Greek was used for dedications, honours and tombstones (Levick, (1967):134-5). This seems to have been the environment Pausanias was writing in. Rather than a period of frustration at being a subject of the Romans, there was a blossoming of Greek literature, seen in the Second Sophistic movement, and the resultant self-esteem which must have been felt by the Greek people (contrary to Elsner, (1992)). Also much Roman history was in fact written by Greek authors, Dionysios of Halicarnassus, Appian from Alexandria, Cassius Dio from Nicaea, and Plutarch from Chaeronea (Millar, (1993):250).

Further to the problem regarding how far Pausanias knew Latin, much has been written on how the Greeks were perceived by the Romans, and very little if anything on how the Greeks saw the Romans, and more specifically how easy it was for Greeks to use Latin sources. Greg Woolf's study comes close, he upholds that the Romans made little impact in the east, except in terms of the legal system and the gladiatorial games (Woolf, (1994):116). Generally concentration is made on the Roman's attitude to the Greeks, particularly since it can easily be traced in literature, not least through the fact that many Roman 'intellectuals' spoke and wrote Greek (Forte, (1972); Alcock, (1993)). The overlap between the two cultures and in particular the languages can be seen in Egypt (Perpillio-Thomas, (1993)). Papyrological evidence supports the fact that private and social festivals were celebrated by both Greeks and Romans. The tolerance of both peoples throughout the empire lead to such a state that by the 3rd century AD, Roman colonies and Greek cities volunteered themselves as allies of Rome in the eastern wars of that time (J.Nollé, in A. Schubart, (1995)), although some of this enthusiasm may have been prompted by fear. It was only with the foundation of Constantinople that a centre for Latin education was established in the east (Marrou, (1956):257). Thus it seems that for a great part of the period of Roman domination in the east, the Greeks had no real need to speak, let alone write Latin, unless they wanted an official career. As such Pausanias

probably did not read Latin literature, although he may have had a basic knowledge of the language, but it is clear that he did not have access to, or had read in any form major works of Latin literature. From the discrepancies between his text and that of Pliny it is clear that Pausanias was not using either Pliny himself or Pliny's source (cf. 23.1 Leaina; Plin. *NH* 34.72 and Plut. *de garr.* 8). In another instance Pausanias does not mention Kresilas by name at all, although he mentions Diitrephes (Paus. 1.23.3-4; Plin. *NH* 34.53) which from the inscription, was known to have been by Kresilas (evidence that Pausanias did not read this inscription either, or if he did chose not to record the name of the sculptor).

Pausanias does not seem to have used Thucydides as a source in the majority of instances. He used Philistus, whose style mimicked Thucydides which may have been where Pausanias may have picked up certain Thucydidean traits (Eide, (1992):124-197; cf. Paus. 6.19.5; Eide, (1992):125; note that Fischbach's conclusions that Pausanias used Thucydides directly on a number of occasions has been convincingly refuted by Eide, (1992):126-128; cf. Fischbach, (1893):161-191). In contrast Pausanias used Herodotus (for list of where Pausanias coincides with Herodotus' account see Wernicke; also Deicke, (1935):Chapter 1). It has been said that Herodotus wrote about "*historiam et memorabilia opera*" of foreign peoples while Pausanias wrote about "*res gestas et monumenta*" (Deicke, (1935):51). *Res gestae* of course implies true historical events but it is also correct to say that Pausanias reports the stories (the *historia*) of locals and myths which of course are fabrications. It is Pausanias' preservation of the earliest versions of legends or the most likely accounts from local traditions that pushes Pausanias' account towards *res gestae*. Thucydides himself calls his own work *ιστορίαι* which may in fact be a more fitting description of Pausanias' aim, even if in retrospect he seems to have missed the mark a number of times.

Truth in Pausanias

Pausanias' pursuit and concept of truth continues to fascinate. Sometimes he seems pedantic, refuting a claim of one in order to support another, over an issue which seems to be on the surface rather futile. But if the issue is considered it is found to be of essential importance to the local cult or people. Such sociological analysis by Pausanias, such a feel for local psychology, need not be interpreted as pedantry. Rather it is quite a beautiful display of the love of history and truth. In many ways Thucydides is imitated in his approach to find the truth, the real reason why something is done one way rather than another (Cornford, 1907). Thucydides' own statements regarding causation seem to reflect Herodotus, who analyses the connections between events (Immerwahr,

(1956):242). *Aitie* in Herodotus is always used in a human context, especially where blame is implied (Immerwahr, (1956):243). The interplay between myth, fortune, history, local opinion with the authors' own views dances through Pausanias' account, in a way similar to Herodotus, whose work seems to reveal that there were however, essentially three different types of cause: immediate, permanent and the metaphysical (Immerwahr, (1956):243-79). Like Herodotus, Pausanias does not attribute to fate those events he cannot explain (Immerwahr, (1956):280). Rather Pausanias prefers to fill it with local opinion or else he continues in his research until he comes across a suitable answer, sometimes ending on a point of myth to which he occasionally cynically adds that there are those gullible enough to believe it. But it seems that his method exhausted all avenues he had access to and the account he chose to include in his description was probably the best of them all. This is not to say that Pausanias does not believe in god, he most certainly does believe: "there is no way for a man to evade the duty from god" (Paus.1.5.4).

There is a problem regarding how far the Greeks, and particularly Pausanias, were prepared to 'believe' their *myths*. The difficulty in an analysis lies in the actual word "believe". To use the word in this context implies so much more unconditional acceptance than the situation seems to have warranted in antiquity. Religious fervour is, and was, a different matter. The rationalisation of myths by ancient historians and authors seeking some kind of truth beyond the obvious exaggerated fiction, seems to have reduced the tales in order to acquire some point of fact. Thus, as Veyne points out, Thucydides mentions that Minos was the first by hearsay to have a navy (Veyne, (1988):1; Th.1.4.1; Paus.8.10.2). Pausanias was also engaged in the dispute over whether the myths were true or not. Most of the subjects he discusses were mythological and as such he needed to provide accurate and clear accounts of the tales which would not already have been known to his 'readers'. The variety of Pausanias' sources reveals the amount of literature that had already been written telling the stories of the myths (not just famous authors, but those unknown, including *ὑπομνήματα*, "memories" (Paus.1.12.2)). Since Pausanias often seems to repeat the stories he was told or read without passing judgement on them, it has been thought that Pausanias works more as a philologist than an historian especially in his acceptance of main elements (Veyne, (1988):95). Whether his job should actually have been to sort out the correct version is another problem, but it is clear, more so than the impression one gets from Veyne's account of Pausanias' treatment of mythology, that Pausanias did sort out the chaff from the grain and it was only as a final resort that he settles for what to him must have seemed conceivable. Veyne notes that in many instances Pausanias uses "what the Greeks say," and does not

involve himself personally (Veyne, (1988):96). This is true, but when one remembers the respect and honour he felt towards the Greeks, the very point of writing his *Description* was to pay homage to the glories that were part of Greece; Pausanias' use of pearls of the local Greek wisdom and narratives reveals his acceptance of them. It is true that Dionysius' of Halicarnassus account of the nature of fifth-century historians is true in its analysis that their essential aim seemed to have been to collect material and instruct their 'readers' (Veyne, (1988):96). However, like Thucydides Pausanias makes clear throughout his work that his aim was to include the things worth seeing and what in his opinion was worth recording. What more an indication of personal objectives could be needed? The assumption that the legends of the past could not possibly report anything false is seen in Pausanias just as it is in Thucydides and Plato (Veyne, (1988):100). Thus the older the story, the more pure and so more likely it is to be true. This explains why Pausanias rummages until he finds the earliest account, for instance the origin of the Aphrodite Ourania cult, or his analysis of the race for men in armour, which, as he explains, may have been to provide military training (Paus.5.8.10). In another instance he explains the reasoning behind the myth of the love affair between the rivers Alpheus and Arethusa, because the two rivers actually mingle (Paus.5.7.3; cf. Paus.10.12.4, the red land around Marpessus). This also backs up the Delphic oracles' words which Pausanias had preserved a line before. Thus Pausanias, already believing the truth of the oracle, then goes on to add what he considered to be a geological fact in order to justify his belief.

Pausanias' decision to include this or that version of a myth probably centres on the fact that myths were part of the Greek cultural heritage, they formed part of the "national customs" (Veyne, (1988):97). It is also true that Pausanias' aim was to collect information local to the site in order to provide interesting information to his 'readers'. In the same way guide books today often give a local tradition of a spirit or ghost, but no cynical comment is given on the part of the author for they have respect for the people they are writing about. It is the same with Pausanias. To deconstruct Pausanias' account into what he believed or what he did not is to remove the personal contact which Pausanias had with the local people when he travelled. It also removes the consideration that Pausanias himself seems to have his own limits within which he allowed himself to believe. Thus he believes that Herakles himself burnt wood of the white poplar on the altar to Zeus (Paus.5.14.2) but not that the temple at Delphi housed a work of art by Poseidon (Paus.10.5.12). Had he become more cynical by the time he came to compose his *Description* of Delphi? It is difficult to know, but there does seem to be a difference in the level of acceptance and enthusiasm between his accounts of Olympia and that of

Delphi. If Pausanias' attitude had been critical of the local versions he was told then it would emerge in his account and so provide us with an idea of his character. As it is we have a clear conception of how respectful Pausanias was towards those people whose customs he immortalised, particularly the Athenians. For instance Pausanias compares Pindar's version of the myth of Antiope, with Hegias' of Troezen and the local Athenian version (Paus.1.2.1). He mentions them all, without indicating which one seemed to him to be the most likely.

Pausanias and his religion

Pausanias' apparent concentration of things sacred is not as profound as some would have us believe (Elsner, (1992):13). Pausanias describes more sacred buildings than secular ones, throughout the whole of his *Description*. It is also true that Pausanias indicates that it is his choice which dictates what he is to include and omit, but another factor must be taken into consideration. This is due to what was left in Athens. Sulla had taken things back with him, and had destroyed a large part of the city. Nero, Pausanias himself complains, had also plundered the sites at Athens, as he did at Delphi (Paus.10.7.1). Therefore the question as to how much was actually left in Athens arises. From the number of monuments and buildings mentioned by Pausanias it is obvious that a great deal was still there, despite people rummaging and removal of various objects. The ancient world was littered with festivals sacred to a large number of deities. As a result there was a large number of sacred objects in each city. this is especially true of Athens. Therefore Pausanias' inclusion of a large number of religious objects does not necessarily reveal Pausanias' own religious fervour, but rather reflects the actual proportion of objects remaining in the city.

It is, however, perplexing that Pausanias is not averse to attributing certain works of art to the gods themselves. Perhaps the best known is the spear made by Hephaistos (Paus.9.40.11-41.5). He concludes that this must have been the work of the god only after he has dismissed other works thought by others to have been by him. It is probably the fact that this spear was supposed to have been Agamemnon's that led Pausanias to conclude the god had a hand in its making. If it is considered that the spear itself was once the possession of some hero of the mythological era, then why not also accept that it might have been made by a divinity since it was during this time that men lived as guests of the gods? This is what Pausanias seems to have believed (Arafat, (1992):401).

Pausanias' acceptance of some myths does not mean that he believes such events could be repeated, but rather that the past was 'another country', in which a different mode of living and different rules were in play, especially where the grounds are

religious. Thus Pausanias can accept the fact that Lykaos was changed into a wolf because he had transgressed the laws fit for a guest of the gods (Veyne, (1988):99; Paus.8.2.3-4). He explains the believable aspect of the myth by the fact that years ago in the mythical age, men were subject to laws of the gods and as such they were dealt punishments or they received rewards, whether this took the form of metamorphosis or anything else. Thus some kind of truth was wrapped up in the guise of the myth.

If he thinks that men could see the gods in the past, during his time he believed that the gods communicated with men through dreams (hence Pausanias' own experiences). This does not seem such a problem when one compares a Christian acceptance that faith in God can heal and even bring things to pass, although He does not manifest himself. Why then should Pausanias' belief that his gods influenced events cause a dilemma? When his account is put into the religious context in which it was composed, confusion fades.

Method and Choice

Pausanias' method may seem rather haphazard: including some monuments and buildings while omitting others. But Pausanias, like in his method of enquiry using sources (see above), is very clear why he chooses to mention one thing and pass by others: as said before, his aim is always to include those things which in his opinion were most worth seeing or most worth a mention (Kreilinger, (1997):472). At the end of his description of Attika, Pausanias notes that from the beginning of this work, he had considered what had been the most famous and the most worth seeing at Athens choosing to include these in his narrative (...γνωριμώτατα ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, Paus.1.39.3; cf.Arafat, (1992):389). Pausanias was interested in such a wide range of topics and objects, for instance: paintings, sculptures, buildings, cults, history, local opinions and poetry. In the opening passages of his Attika Pausanias begins describing the place immediately without any preliminaries. In contrast, before he begins to describe other sites he usually provides a history of the area (although in his description of Delphi the history is brief).

Considering the vast amount of sculpture that was dedicated in Athens, Pausanias' selectivity was essential, otherwise his work would only be a catalogue rather than a 'guide'. Pausanias omits *exedra*. He also does not mention many Roman dedications, apart from Hadrian's. This reveals his essential aim, namely to provide a description of all things Greek. Why then should he have included dedications and images of Hadrian? Hadrian had adopted a Greek way of life, he had founded a number of cities (Spawforth and Walker, (1985):78-104). He instituted the Eleusinian Mysteries at Rome and was

acknowledged by the Athenians as being a great benefactor. He was in effect 'adopted' by the Athenians, which was sealed by the fact that they created a new tribe after him and allowed an image of him to be set up in the Parthenon (Paus.1.24.7). For these reasons Pausanias chose to include works by Hadrian and not other Romans, solely because of his Greekness and his benefactions to the Greeks.

Pausanias' description seems full of unclear twists and turns. His 'readers' would have had the monuments there before them, and so would have known what Pausanias intended. As is made clear in the commentary, there are a number of methods Pausanias employs to indicate that his 'readers' are to move on to a new section; if one follows Pausanias' description word for word sense can indeed be made out of it. Other methods he employs include the careful use of prepositions and adverbs, as well as participles of the verb 'to go' (see Conclusion).

Pausanias occasionally comments on scientific questions. For instance he appears to have analysed the geology of the area in order to have reached the conclusion that the smell of the Anigris was due to the earth through which the water springs (Paus.5.5.9). He also adds that to smell the rivers beyond Ionia, would be deadly. In this way the reader is warned away from the Anigris.

Style and Interest

Pausanias' writing style has been criticised and dismissed, which, like an 'Emperor's new clothes' syndrome, has prevented anyone else looking independently and providing an analysis of his style alongside an archaeological commentary (cf. Kalkmann, (1886); Engeli, (1907); C.Robert, (1909); Reardon, (1971):220-224; Strid, (1976); Worthington, (1985) II 33,4-5). This is unfortunate since his deliberate choice of words and phraseology, which when looked at hand in hand with the archaeological evidence, can actually say something new and valuable.

Pausanias does not seem to have used Thucydides as a direct model for the style he writes in. Indeed Pausanias' style has been described as a bad imitation of Thucydides (Clavier, (1793):4, "son style, qui est une mauvaise imitation de celui de Thucydide..."). Rather Pausanias seems to have preferred Herodotus in both the method of writing history and the style employed, although he uses fewer words (Wernicke, (1884):6, "*sed non solum imitatus est Pausanias orationis Herodoteae formam, verum etiam exscripsit multa ex patris historiae libris*"). The opening section of Pausanias: Τῆς ἡπείρου τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς κατὰ νήσους τὰς Κυκλάδας καὶ πέλαγος τὸ Αἰγαῖον ἄκρα Σούνιον πρόκειται γῆς τῆς Ἀττικῆς, resembles Herodotus' description of the Tauric Chersonese: Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηῖκη τὸ ἐς Θάλασσαν πρόκειται ("Thrace lies

out into the sea from the land of Scythia," Hdt.4.99; pointed out by Levi, cited in Bowersock, (1969):709, n.2). Both begin with a genitive, have their nominative postponed to later in the sentence and have a prepositional phrase dependent. Both have the verb *prokeimai* in the same voice and number, 3rd person singular present indicative. Such an invocation of Herodotus may not have been Pausanias' intention, or at least the connection may not necessarily have been consciously drawn (Bowersock, (1969):709). Pausanias may have intended his opening lines compare with those of the 'father of history'; or, rather than a deliberate echo of Herodotus, Pausanias may have been so influenced by him that he may have subconsciously plucked such phraseology from his memory. At one moment Pausanias seems to be following Herodotus and then in the same passage he seems to turn his back, and go off in another direction (see Gurlitt, (1890):38-51). Pausanias, like Herodotus, had in fact been an Asiatic and in matters of style Pausanias' seems very close to Herodotus (Kreilinger, (1997):471, n.5; Pfundtner, (1866):1ff; Wernicke, (1884); Dik, (1995): *passim*). And like Herodotus, Pausanias is interested in a whole range of things, for instance history, mythology, art, religion, ethnography, botany, natural history, technical feats and geography (Kreilinger, (1997):489).

Often Pausanias' style seems convoluted and unclear, and he has often been criticised for this as if it were a shortcoming. Thus when Pausanias is describing the dedication of Euboulides (see *Index sv.*) it would, in reality, have been very clear what this dedication included (Paus.1.2.5). We should be cautious of our frustration making us lay the blame at Pausanias' door, when in fact the truth still lies buried in the earth or in some private collection. In some instances, however, the answers are there, but they need unravelling. If the evidence is confronted with a close reading of the text, the results can be striking (notably the Leokoreion, 1.2.4, the Kerameikos, 1.2.4, the Eleusinion, 1.14.3 and possibly the Erechtheion, 1.26.5). When this happens it makes the study of Pausanias seem even more rewarding, for often his wording is the piece of evidence which ties all other pieces together, often an amalgam of ancient literature, inscriptions, ancient art and architectural remains. A good piece of advice is: "my own last word - stay with Pausanias" (Wycherley, (1982):191). Although on points of history Pausanias can seem confusing and often narrates a story totally different from other more accepted ones, we find that he had at least some cause to do so, although whether it has turned out to have been the correct one or not, must be left to modern historians to debate.

Variation in sentence structures, verbs and nouns is important in a Guide book to prevent the text from seeming as dry and boring as a list. It is not just a desire to pepper his narrative with different verbs of motion which makes Pausanias vary them, but rather

by adding a prefix to the verb "to go" he can quickly and clearly indicate a change in direction. The most obvious examples being ἐσελθόντων and ἀνιόντων, which occur close to one another on a number of occasions (Paus.1.2.1, 2.2).

Pausanias also reveals himself as somewhat of a 'city-snob', since on a number of occasions he notes that the tales told and elaborated in the demes are nothing like those told in the city (e.g., Paus.1.14.7). This may however, just be Pausanias' preference of things Athenian. The language and style Pausanias uses, especially in his account of Olympia, reflects the language and terse style of inscriptions (see above, Tzifopoulos, (1991); cf. Delphi, Lacroix, (1992):157-176).

Terminology and Art History

Arafat has done much to raise general awareness of Pausanias' knowledge and interest in the type of material used in dedications, and it is not my purpose to do again what has already been done well (Arafat, (1992):392-95). I will elaborate a little on a number of objects Pausanias chose to mention, because they offer much to an art historian (9.32.1, 8.46.4, hippo's teeth; 1.5.1 silver agalmata; 9.24.3, 9.27.1, 1.44.9, lithos). It is interesting that Pausanias generally describes whether the marble is Pentelic or not, since most other authors are content to use the word "lithos," stone. Pausanias displays a "practised use of vocabulary" (Arafat, (1992):395, n.45; wood: 1.3.5, 40.3; cf. Donohue,(1988):232, who concludes that Pausanias' usage is constant). Pausanias describes an archaic *andrias* of Arrachion the pankratiast (8.40.1). There is no need to consider this statue to have been made of wood just because Pausanias describes it as archaic. Rather Pausanias uses the term archaic to denote its age rather than the material it is made out of. If the statue had been made of wood, it is more than likely that Pausanias would have used the word *xoanon* (Arafat, (1992):400, n.61).

Pausanias shows great attention to detail, especially when it comes to the material an object is made of. Pausanias describes certain styles: Egyptian (Paus.4.32.1; 7.5.5), Lesbian (Paus.10.19.3); Aeginetan (Paus.2.30.1; 5.25.13); Attic (Paus.4.33.3; 10.33.4; 10.37.8; Kreilinger, (1997):476). He is also careful to point out akrolithic or aniconic images, or whether a certain statue is made of ivory or ebony, for instance the ebony image of Ajax (Paus.1.35.3). Most of the statues Pausanias describes come from the Classical period, and he is especially taken by the Athenian sculptors Pheidias and Alkamenes. This is also true of Lucian and others of the Second Sophistic, to them the most important were the Athenians who came from the Argive school of Polykleitos (Kreilinger, (1997):481). Pausanias' omission of objects which date after the middle of the second century is characteristic of other writers of the Second Sophistic (Alcock,

(1996):246; also Bowie, (1974):172, 188f). Pausanias also holds archaic sculpture (pre-Persian Wars) in high esteem. The old statues were the earliest representations of the Greek Pantheon extant in his time, and Pausanias' mention of them reflects his respect and veneration in the face of such ancient religious images. The very simplicity of archaic statuary seemingly rendered it all the more sincere. Objects dating supposedly to the heroic Golden Age were described by Pausanias as "very ancient." One instance is the implication that the very old statue of Apollo in the god's grove in Hylas, Magnesia, could bestow heroic strength (Paus.10.32.6). Pausanias uses material to establish a chronological framework on which to hang the various monuments he saw, occasionally marking out the time scale through genealogies, thus at one time he mentions that one is archaic and made of wood, at another time he rejects an urn because it had been made in a technique "which was invented later," (Arafat, (1992):401, 9.40.6-41.1; also 10.16.1, 5.18.1-3, 7.5.9, 1.24.3).

Pausanias does not seem to be interested in modern objects. Arafat, (1992):389, admits to the temptation felt by anyone who studies Pausanias, that possibly the recent age of an object played a part in its deselection. His dissatisfaction with modern works of art is similar to that felt by Plato, Pliny and Vitruvius (again, Arafat (1992):389; Vitruv. 7,5.3-8). Pausanias, like Pliny, was a "recorder of art and art history" (Arafat, (1992):387). Pausanias is in fact clear why he leaves out a great majority of modern objects, because most of the monuments and buildings dedicated later were Roman, and his express purpose was to describe "all things Greek".

* * * * *

No other ancient author has given such a detailed and systematic description of Athens as Pausanias had. By re-evaluating Pausanias' *Description*, in the light of new archaeological evidence and recent discussion, so much more can be understood, not only of the site but also of his work, and it is soon realised how accurate his description was. It serves as a warning against condemning Pausanias before excavation has been made, and also as an encouragement to listen to his words, and follow his steps. Pausanias' directions must have been straightforward to his 'readers' who would have had the monuments and buildings in front of them. This must be remembered at all times. A word of advice seems appropriate: "Trust Pausanias."

Pausanias is our best source for the monuments and buildings of Athens. His commentary can be rivalled by none. No other author gives us such a detailed description

of the city of Athens as he does. It has been his words which have guided archaeologists in their attempt to identify the various buildings and monuments.

Τοσαῦτα κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν Ἀθηναίοις γνωριμώτατα ἦν ἐν τε λόγοις καὶ θεωρήμασιν, ἀπέκρινε δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὁ λόγος μοι τὰ ἐς συγγραφὴν ἀνήκοντα.

"Such are the things, which in my opinion at Athens are the most famous stories and are the things most worth seeing; since the beginning, my account chose these, from a large number, to have been worth mentioning."

(Pausanias, 1.39.3)

2.4 The Pompeion

Bibliography: A. Brückner, "Das hadrianische Pompeion", *AM* 56 (1931):5; A. Brückner, "Das alte Pompeion", *AM* 56 (1931):12-24, Beil. 7, 1-3; Judeich, (1931):360-62; W. Zschietzschmann, "Die späten Einbauten im griechischen Pompeion," *AM* 56 (1931):90-97; Beil. 41-43; Day (1942):185; W.-D. Kahrstedt, *MdI* 2 (1950):59ff.; E. Meyer, *RE* 21.2, (1952):2038ff; J.A. Davison, "Pseistratus and Homer," *TAPA* 86 (1955):1-21; J.A. Davison, "Notes on the Panathenaia," *JHS* 78 (1958):23-42; D. Ohly, *A.Delt.* 17 (1961/2); Maiuri, (1963):63; G. Gruben, "Die Ausgrabungen in Kerameikos", *AA* (1964):384-419; D. Ohly, "Kerameikos-Grabung, Tätigkeitsbericht 1956-61," *AA* (1965):286-301; G.M.A. Richter, "An unfinished portrait herm of Sokrates," in *Studi in onore di L. Banti*, (1965):289ff; G. Rickman, *Roman Granaries and Store Buildings*, Cambridge (1971):17ff, 236ff, 237; *Prakt.* (1974):9ff; Höpfner, (1976); K. Votsis, "Nouvelle Mosaïque de Sicyone", *BCH* 100 (1976):584, pl. 13, 14; R.L. Ponder, "A Hellenistic Arsenal in Athens" *Hesp.* 52 (1983): 233-56; Richter, (1984):152, pl. 112; W. Höpfner, "Die Dachterrakotten des Artemistempels", *Hesp. Suppl.* 27 (1991):101, pl. 2, pl. 28a; W.J. Slater, *Dining in a Classical Context*, Univ. Michigan Press (1991); Ling (1992):12ff; *Chron.* 17, pl. 15b; Townsend, (1995):50ff, esp. 92

Commentary: The Pompeion is the first building Pausanias mentions as he enters the gates of the city. It is important to note that the word used by Pausanias for this building is οἰκοδόμημα, which is a word he uses most often for buildings which are secular or of a design not subscribing to the traditional temple ground plan, for instance he uses this word to describe the *Erechtheion*, which we know was not of the usual temple shape. The building Pausanias saw was essentially a three aisled store-house, which explains why he describes it as an οἰκοδόμημα (Meyer, *supra* (1952):2038ff, *supra Prakt.* (1974):9ff and plan, Brückner, *supra* (1931):5). In design it was like most Roman utility buildings, for instance the *horrea* found all around the Roman Empire (Rickman, *supra* (1971):17ff, 236ff, 237 for a reconstructed drawing of a wooden granary). The design of *horrea* were similar to earlier storage buildings, for instance the fifth-century building at Eleusis which had been used for the processions in the Eleusinia (Höpfner, (1976):123, *IG* II² 2, line 20, 327/6).

The Roman building by the Dipylon gate, which must have been the building seen by Pausanias (*Plates 3 and 4, top*), had poured concrete foundations. Its broad north wall was made up of reused polygonal blocks of limestone from the nearby Themistoklean Wall. The main doorway on the east wall had two wooden doors hung on wooden posts, indicated by the holes in the floor on the right of the doorway (*Plate 5, bottom right*). Foundations of what seem to have been stairs would imply that the building had been

built on two levels (Höpfner, (1976) figs.174,175,176, including reconstruction of the side elevation, *Plate 3, top*). Supporting columns were used on the lower level, the foundations measure between 1.16m and 1.19m, the centre one being the largest. Ionic columns were used along the upper storey.

The latest datable evidence we have in the fill of the Roman building's foundations is a coin from the reign of Hadrian which dates to the years AD 134-38 (Höpfner, (1976):227, table). This is evidence that the building's construction probably began in Hadrian's reign, although there is no absolute evidence to suggest that it was completed before he died (Day, (1942):185; Höpfner, (1976):167, n.336). Hadrian had spent a lot of resources on building projects on the south side of Athens which may have taken priority over the north side (Kahrstedt, *supra*(1950):59ff.). Part of the city in Athens was known as Hadrianopolis, and most likely refers to the south side which Hadrian rejuvenated (Ambrose, *Vit.Hadrianis*.20: "[Hadrianus] *multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Carthaginem et Athenarum partem*"). If the Imperial family had in fact even been involved in the construction of the Pompeion by the Dipylon, then maybe Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius finished work on it, as he is known to have done elsewhere. One example being an inscription on the epistyle of an aqueduct from Lykabettos which served Athens, records that Hadrian began the project which was completed by Antoninus Pius (*CIL III 549:...Hadrianus Antoninus Athenis, coeptum a divo Hadriano patre suo dedicavitque*). Antoninus was a philhellene like his predecessor, although he never moved from Rome, and he only seems to have carried out completion jobs and restorations rather than building anything new.

In design the Roman building by the Dipylon seems to resemble the Hellenistic building built on *Kolonos Agoraios*, just north of the Hephaisteion (*Plate 54, no.2*). In fact the Hellenistic building seems to have been inspired by Philon's 'Arsenal' (Pounder, *supra* (1983): 233-56, dates it to the 270's/260's). The Arsenal of Philon in the Piraeus was completed about 330, and can more or less be reconstructed from the architectural details given in the building inscription (*IG II²1668=EM12538*, line 2: [σ]υνγραφὰ τῆς σκευοθήκης τῆς λιθίνης τοῖς κρεμαστοῖς σκεύεσιν/...; Garland, (1992):156-8, fig.30 for a reconstruction of the Piraeus building, and 218, n.156, literary references). This building in the Piraeus also served a functional purpose, and was referred to in the inscriptions as an *oikema*, a building (records of the Naval curators of the earlier skeuotheke, found near the Theatre of Zea, Piraeus *IG II² 1610.6=EM 7970*; line 5: [κ]ρεμαστὰ σκε[ύη] ἐν τῷ οἰκῆμα/-[τι]; 370..6 cf. *IG II²1627= EM10385*; line396ff: σκευοθήκαι ξύλιναι/ σκεύεσιν τριήρων...; Hymettian marble; 329/8). Philon's Arsenal was destroyed in 86 at the hands of Sulla, and so was no longer standing when the

Roman Arsenal was built, which means that the Roman building by the Dipylon may have been inspired by the so-called Hellenistic Arsenal on the Agora hill.

The Roman 'Pompeion' had been built over a Classical one, which had also been destroyed in 86 when Sulla marched on Athens. It was left a ruin for more than 200 years. During this time it is evident that the quarter became a potters' zone after its destruction, since potters' kilns have been found in this area. The Classical building's foundations had been laid at the end of the 5th century, to judge by the pottery found buried in the layer beneath the building (Höpfner, (1976):112f.). The inscription in which the Pompeion is mentioned dates slightly earlier than the foundations of the Classical building, c.420/19 (*IG I³ 473*, line7: ...καὶ παρ[έδο]σαν π[ο]μπίον...). It would seem that the mechanics of at least the planning (and possibly the laying of the foundations) may have been in motion when the inscription was set up, otherwise the inscription may refer to an older 'Pompeion', either built elsewhere or on the spot where the Classical Pompeion was to be built.

Further to this, there must have been some kind of central place used for the organisation of processions before the construction of the Classical Pompeion, since it is generally agreed that the Panathenaia was established sometime before 561 (Parker, (1996):69, "the Panathenaia was transformed into an athletic festival...near the 560's;" dedications of Panathenaic vases as prize offerings, *IG I³ 507-9*). This is over 150 years before the Pompeion was built. This is assuming that the early Panathenaia was on such a scale and required such paraphernalia that warranted preparation and storage in a central place. But it was probably only later as the processions became more elaborate, that a building of a more permanent nature was needed, either for meals (see below), or for storing the instruments and tackle used for the procession itself. It is possible that the building had originally been a more temporary structure of wood and had a material tent-like roof (Travlos, (1971):477). The odd shape of the Themistoklean Wall, however, built in the 470's (*Plate 2*) suggests that the wall's design may have been determined by the existence of an earlier structure on the site of the Pompeion (see Höpfner (1976):fig.13, for the earliest evidence of building works and the Themistoklean Wall). Holes were found in the ground, beneath the Classical Pompeion, which may have supported tent-like structures used either by the builders or by those preparing the processions, establishing the location for the impending Pompeion.

Architectural elements which are believed to have been part of the Classical Pompeion have been found throughout the Kerameikos (Höpfner, (1976), fig.100, roof tiles, figs.125, 126, antefixes, figs.99, 100, 101, 126-29, sima blocks and lion-head water spouts). Still *in situ* are stumps of Ionic columns (for example, Capital, *Plate 6, top*). The

courtyard of the Classical building was a rectangular peristyle which had a ceiling of recessed coffers (Höpfner (1976): fig.118; photo, fig.120; reconstruction fig.121). Such a design was regularly used as a place for gatherings, for instance the late fourth-century square peristyle in the Athenian Agora, which acted as a place for assembly (Townsend, (1995):50ff, esp.92). Also compare the late fourth-century Delphinion at Miletus which also had a peristyle where it is known that an annual procession gathered prior to leaving (*Milet I*, iii:125-41, 408-11; c.50.94m by 29.80m). Around the courtyard of the Dipylon Pompeion the names of ephebes have been scratched onto the walls, suggesting that the central peristyle may have also been used as a gymnasium (Knigge, (1991):72; Brueckner, *supra* (1931):12-24, Beil. 7, 1-3).

Doors lead off on the north and west sides of the peristyle to six adjoining rooms. The pebble mosaic floorings in rooms I-V stop about a metre away from where the walls once stood, possibly for the placement of *klinai* which implies that one of the building's functions was dining (Travlos, (1971): pl. 602; Knigge, (1991):80, pl.70). All these side rooms had simple white pebble mosaic floors (one of which can still be seen *in situ*). A fine black and white pebble mosaic was found in room VI (Ohly, *supra* (1961/2); Gruben, *supra* (1964):384-419; Höpfner, (1976):12, fig.8; p.51, fig.73). It is important since it is one of the earliest Greek figured pebble mosaics, dating to the second quarter of the fourth century, if the chronology of the Olynthos pebble mosaic floors is accepted (first half of the fourth century, also made up of black and white pebbles: Salzmann, (1982):27,140-41). The creatures flanking the central palmette at the top of the frieze, are griffins. In the corners of the mosaic in Room VI, a fight between three animals is shown: the victim is held fast between two lion-like creatures, which may be griffins, a motif seen often in Greek art. The bodies of the animals are white on a black background, with their musculature marked out with lines of black pebbles, while their shadows are marked out with grey stones. The identity of the conquered animal is obscured, since the mosaic is lost from the back of the animal up. The victim's body here is most leonine, but since in antiquity generally a griffin's body was also like a lion's it is difficult to identify the creature here. It is likely that if the attacking animals are griffins the victim was probably a member of another species of animal (this question is further discussed by Salzmann who believes the aggressors to be lions, (1982):86, n.681, and (1976):52). Griffins are shown attacking a spotted animal in a slightly later pebble mosaic found in Athens which may have been inspired by the mosaic in the Pompeion (Salzmann, pl.45,1,2. Kat.21, 310/300; Votsis, *supra* (1976):584, pl.13,14; cf. pebble mosaic from Eretria (350/40), Salzmann, pl.23, where individual lions attack individual horses).

Many bones of cattle were discovered in a layer of the fill in the moat, which lies just on the other side of the city wall. If the restoration of the name Kerameikos in an inscription which records where the meat from the sacrifices made at the Panathenaia should be eaten is correct, then it is possible that since it is recorded that meat was to be consumed in the Kerameikos, the more privileged members may have been able to eat the meat in the Pompeion: *IG II² 334*, lines 23-25: ...καὶ μιᾶς ἐω[νημένων νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῷ Δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν/ [Κεραμεικῷ] καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις κρεανομίαις. The restoration of 'Kerameikos' has been accepted without question, based on the number of letters available, since the inscription is strictly stoichedon, and the topographical likelihood (*SEG* 41, 92: referring to Schmitt-Pantel, (1992)). The Kerameikos area was renowned for its unsavoury character, and mass consumption of sacrificial meat may have comfortably taken place here (for the area which the name Kerameikos covered at the time of the inscription, see Index s.v. *Kerameikos*; cf. Wesenberg, *supra* (1988):344-50). The Panathenaia was a very popular festival, and if the meat was consumed at the Kerameikos this may suggest the nature of the revelry.

The Classical building was overhauled in the 1st century, with the walls being painted in the first Pompeian style, where the painter imitated marble (Ling, (1992):12ff; Maiuri, (1963):63; Höpfer, (1976):104, fig.137). It has been suggested that, like the later Roman building, the Classical building had been used as a storehouse as well. But the literary evidence used to support this refers to a specific instance only. It is stated that grain was distributed at the Pompeion although there is no intimation that it had been stored there as well ([D.]34,39 *Against Phormion*). A large number of Panathenaic amphorae fragments were discovered in and near the Pompeion. Since the majority of them had not contained oil, the vases may have been stored at the Pompeion prior to being taken up to the Akropolis in the procession and then filled with oil there, which may indicate that oil had probably not been stored in the Pompeion although the vases may have been (Pounder, *supra* (1983):251). It must be remembered however, that the area was a popular location for potters' workshops and the fragments may have come from a potter's dump.

It has also been put forward that the Classical Pompeion could be used by anybody, since the disreputable Cynic Diogenes used to go there (D.L.6.22; Knigge, (1991):80). It is known that he used "every place" (παντί τόπῳ) for eating, sleeping and speaking, so surely the point is that the Athenians let him stay 'even' in the Pompeion and Zeus' Stoa (the two places pointed out by the speaker in the text), otherwise there would have been no point indicating two buildings where anybody could stay. That this building had been important in the Classical period is supported by literary evidence, since it is

known that portraits of Isokrates, Sokrates by Lysippos and comic poets, including Menander were placed in the Pompeion. The portrait of Isokrates mentioned by Pseudo-Plutarch was painted, and is our only literary reference that there had ever been a painting of him in antiquity ([Plu.] *Vit.X.Orat.* 839c). There are three different types of sculpted portraits of the orator known: one was near the Olympieion (Paus.1.18.8), another where he was shown on horseback on the Akropolis (Heliod. in [Plu] *Vit.X.Orat.* 839c) and the third in Eleusis dedicated by Timotheos as a sign of affection and respect for his friend, made by Leochares (the inscription quoted in [Plu] *Vit.X.Orat.*838D). A sculpted bust in the Villa Albani is the only certain portrait of Isokrates extant and identifiable: Villa Albani, no.951 (*Plate 8, bottom right*; Richter, (1984):152, pl.112). It is a portrait of him as a young man. Richter suggested that the original may have been made in Isokrates' lifetime, last 3rd of 4th century, and possibly reworked later.

The image of Sokrates made by Lysippos is mentioned by Diogenes (D.L.2.43: The Athenians "felt such remorse...they banished the accusers, but put Meletos to death. They honoured Sokrates with a statue, the work of Lysippos, which they put in the Pompeion"; Tertul. *Apol.*14.8 cites the same story, and Plu. *Demosth.*30.5). There is a block missing from the east side of the Pompeion, beside the doorway (*Plate 8, top right*). It may have been a statue base, possibly for Lysippos' Sokrates (Höpfner, (1976):106, fig.142). Lysippos was active at Delphi c.370-60 and may have made this statue of Sokrates about 350 at the height of his career (Richter, (1984):199; Marcadé, (1953-)I, no.66). There are two basic types of portraits of Sokrates identifiable (Richter, (1984):199-202). One is believed to have been set up c.380-360 by his friends, of which there are about nine copies of a type seen in Naples inv. 6129, which has his name Σωκράτης, inscribed and also a few lines from his speech in prison is quoted there too (Plat.*Krit.* 46B; Richter, (1984):200, fig.160). The second type is one Richter considers to be Lysippan in style, and is seen in the Herm from Naples, inv. 6415 (*Plate 8, top left*), of which there are about thirty copies (Richter, (1965):112-16, Suppl. fig.523; Richter, *supra* (1965):289ff, unfinished portrait herm of Sokrates). Thus if the attribution to the hand of Lysippos is correct, then this may represent the image of Sokrates set up in the Classical Pompeion.

Painted images of comic poets are recorded as being in the Pompeion by Pliny (Plin. *NH* 35.140, "*Cratinus comoedos Athenis in Pompeio pinxit..*"). Menander's name was found inscribed on the wall near the small door, near the south-east corner (*Plate 8, bottom left*), Brückner, *supra* (1931):12-24, Beil. 7, 1-3, drawing of inscription; Richter, (1984): 163, pl.125, 126). Note that these images are not mentioned by Pausanias.

The name 'Pompeion' seems only to have been used in relation to the Classical building and not to the later Roman one (D.34.39; D.L.2.43 referring to Diogenes the Cynic (4th century)). Pausanias is our only extant literary source for there being a building in Athens during the Roman period which was used for the preparation of the processions, but he does not call it the 'Pompeion'. The building had such a functional design that it was overlooked by other authors. In which case why should Pausanias have mentioned it? It is possible that the Athenians had been in the actual throes of preparing a procession, since there would have been activity there to draw Pausanias' attention to it. Pausanias later describes a 'ship' which had been used for the Panathenaia, which may imply that the festival had been or was about to be celebrated at the time Pausanias visited Athens, unless it is assumed that the ship was always moored out in the open (Paus.1.29.1).

2.4 Processions: annual and those which the Athenians held after an interval of time

Bibliography: F.Bümer, "Pompe" *RE*: 1892-94; H.T.Wade-Gery, *BSA* (1932-33):123-25; L.Ziehen, "Panathenaia" *RE* (1949):457-89; J.H.Oliver, *Athenian Expounders of the Sacral and Ancestral Law*, Baltimore (1950):139-141; M.Ostwald, "The Prytaneion Decree Re-examined," *AJP* (1951):25-26; F.Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides* Vienna (1951):12ff; Deubner, (1962):134-38; K.Lehnstaedt, *Prozessionsdarstellungen auf attischen Vasen*, Diss. Munich (1970); Morrissey, *Inscriptions listing Agonistic Festivals*, Thesis, Harvard (1973); R.Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, Harmondsworth (1986):66-68, 80-82; W.R.Connor, "Tribes, Festivals and Processions; Civic Ceremonial and Political Manipulation in Archaic Greece, *JHS* 107 (1987):40-50; S.V.Tracy, "The Panathenaic Festival and Games: An Epigraphic Enquiry," *Nikephoros* 4 (1991):133-53; Neils, (1992) *passim*; Parker, (1996):32.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the building he saw as he entered the city as being used for the preparation of the festivals which were held annually and those held after a period of time. The Athenian Calendar was littered with public festivals, and a number of these were celebrated by means of a procession (for example: [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 56.6, 57.1; D.21.22 (procession for Dionysos); Hdt.5.56 (Panathenaia); cf. Pi.O.7.80 meat of sheep for sacrifice carried in procession; cf. Deubner, (1962):134-38; *IG* I³ 41e.25; *IG* I³ 131; Panhellenic festival; *IG* II² 47, line38...ἵεροποῖος [κ]αὶ [τοῖς πο]μπ[ε]ύουσιν...; beginning of the fourth century).

The Panathenaia was both annual and quadrennial, it is possible that these are the only festivals to which Pausanias refers (cf. [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.*60.1; *IG* II² 334, lines31-32: [...νε]μόντων τὰ κρέα τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων ἐν/ [Κεραμειῷ]...; "the Panathenaia";

[Arist.] *Ath.Pol.* 54.10: annual commissioners supervise all quadrennial festivals except the greater Panathenaia; Paus. 8.2.1 where he notes that the Athenaia was changed to the Panathenaia by Theseus after the synoecism). But the building may also have been used in the preparation for processions sent out at other festivals. Herakleides of the 3rd century, describes festivals and non-stop marvellous displays of all kinds in which one could spend time (Pfister, *supra* (1951):12ff).

That the building by the Dipylon was used to store certain religious processional paraphernalia for a number of cults seems very likely in view of the building's proximity to the Demeter sanctuary and the Sacred Gate which led onto the road which went to Eleusis. It is known that the procession to Eleusis from the city went via the Kerameikos (Schol.Ar.Ran. 402:...ἀπὸ ἄστεος μέχρι Ἐλευσίνος τοῦτο ἐπεὶ ὁδεύουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα). It is therefore possible that the building also served some function in preparing the processions to Eleusis. The very design of the Roman building would support the view of its being a storehouse (see *Index s.v. Pompeion*).

Processions were an integral feature of many Greek cult activities and such ritual can still be seen today, for instance in the Catholic or High Protestant church the Priest walks down the central aisle, followed by attendants before Mass or the sermon. Also in pop concerts and boxing matches some venues allow for the 'star' to approach the stage through the auditorium. This proximity to the worshipped, or in the case of religion the agency to God, adds to the excitement and fuels popularity in memories when all is over. One of the earliest processions were to mountain tops where Zeus' worship took place (Parker, (1996):32; Paus. 9.3.7, on mount Cithaeron; *SIG*² 1107: τῷ κοινῶϊ/ τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δίῃ/ Ὑέτιον: "association of those who walk together to Zeus of Rain"; cf. Connor *supra* (1987):40-50).

2.4 Naos of Demeter

Bibliography: F.Lenormant, *Monographie de la voie sacrée éleusinienne*, Paris (1864), 110ff; Koumanoudis, *Athenaion* III (1895):598; A.Brueckner, *AM* 56 (1931):25-28; Carpenter, et al., (1931); *ILN*, July 18, (1936); Blümel, (1944); H.Jeanmarie, *Dionysos. Histoire du Culte de Bacchus*, Paris (1951); H.Leisegang, *The Mysteries, Papers for the Eranos Yearbooks*, London (1955):239; B.D.Meritt, *Hesp.* 24 (1955):203; W.Wili, in *The Mysteries. Papers for the Eranos Yearbooks*, London (1955):81-82; B.D.Meritt, *Hesp.* 26(1957):200ff., pl.50. E3; R.R.Holloway, "The Date of the Eleusis Relief," *AJA* 62 (1958):404-408, pl.110, fig.1; K.Clinton, *Hesp. Suppl.* 13 (1970):43; Graf, (1974):40-66; Richardson, (1974):213; Bianchi, *The Greek Mysteries*, Leiden (1976):8; E.Pochmarski, "Iakchos oder Dionysos" *Grazer Beiträge* 5 (1976): 181-209; Cook, (1977); Brumfield,

(1981):203; B.von Freytag, *AA* (1984):48; R.Linder, *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst*, Beiträge zur Archäologie 16, Würzburg (1984):11-45; Morrow, (1985):83-84; A.Corso, "Prassitele il Vecchio", *Quad. tic. di numis. e antich. class.* 15 (1986):88; G.Touchais, "Chronique des Fouilles en 1988", *BCH* 113 (1989):586; Burkert, (1990):51E; E.B.French, *AR* (1990-91):8; Knigge, (1991):95f; D.Sabbatucci, *Saggio sul misticismo greco*, Athens (1991), passim; E.B.French, *AR*(1991-2):5-6,pl.1; Whitehead, (1992):18; U.Knigge quoted by E.B.French, *AR*(1992-3):8-9; U.Knigge, "Die Ausgrabung im Kerameikos 1990/91," *AA* (1993):125, fig.3; Dover (1993): commentary on lines 398-410; Giebel, *Das Geheimnis der Mysterien*, Munich (1993):35,37; A.Kleingünther, "Protos Heures," *Phil.Suppl.* 26 (1934):26-39; E.B.French, *AR* (1993-94):8-9, C.M.Havelock, *The Aphrodite and Her Successors: a historical overview of the female nude in Greek art*, Univ. of Michigan, (1995); H.Metzger, "Le Dionysos des images éleusiniennes du IV^e siècle," *Rev.Arch.* (1995):3-22; B.S.Spaeth, *The Roman Goddess Ceres*, Univ. Texas Press (1996); Marcadé, (1953-)II,115, Pl. 44, 1 44,2. R.E.Wycherley, (1982):182-191.

Commentary: Pausanias describes a Naos of Demeter and images of the goddess herself, Kore and Iakchos holding a torch, by Praxiteles. The inscription Pausanias saw was in Attic lettering which is too early for the famous Praxiteles. Also Pausanias describes the inscription as being on the wall, which is unusual, suggesting that it might have been written later, possibly in the Roman period and an attempt may have been made to age the lettering. Where this *naos* stood is difficult to determine.

A building, labelled Y on the plan (*Plate 9, top*) has been excavated on the south side of the Sacred way, very close to the Pompeion. It has been thought that it formed part of the Demeter sanctuary (French, *supra* *AR*.(1993-94):8-9; French, quotes Knigge; *supra* (1992-3):8-9; *AR*. (1991-2):5-6,pl.1; Knigge, (1991):fig 165, 8b). It was built in three phases spanning the second half of the 5th century through to the third quarter of 4th century, which is evidenced from the date of the burnt foundation sacrifices found, including cups, a pyxis and a lamp (Knigge, *supra*(1993):138, fig.17-18; French, *supra* (1992-3):8; French, *supra*, (1990-91):8). Its central function seems to have been a dining room, since there are two rooms A and B, which opened onto a central peristyle, and were possibly furnished with couches (French, *supra* (1991-92):6-7). Building Y seems to have still been in use in the Roman period (French, *supra* (1993-4):8-9). Under the floor of Building Z2, next to Building Y (*Plate 9, top*) various terracotta models and moulds were found, of which the most interesting were an Aphrodite on a swan (T945, 947), a medallion of the Pheidian Athena (T887), a Maenad (T889) and a Gorgoneion (T876) (Touchais, *supra* (1989):586, fig.8; building Z may in fact have been a brothel). It was

clearly used for industrial purposes after the first half of the third century (Knigge, (1991):94). Building Y's proximity to Building Z, indicates some secular usage, but the combination of dining rooms and peristyle is typical of those linked with sanctuaries (French, *supra* (1992-1993):8-9). But there is a problem in identifying Building Y with any cult complex. Nine round holes were discovered cut into the marble floor of the courtyard of the third phase of building, possibly for containers of fluid. They extend into the floor by c.70-90cm and are c.30-40cm deep. One suggestion has been that they caught water from the roof (French, *supra* AR. (1992-93):8-9) but Isaïos says that near the small gate were wine sellers (Isaïos, 6, 20. ...καθίστησιν...ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ συνοικίας, τῆς παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα, οὗ δ'οἶνος ὤνιος). The small gate in the Kerameikos referred to in Isaïos is most likely to have been the Sacred Gate. This seems especially true since this is a residential area which is also implied by Isaïos. This would suggest that building Y may have in fact been a wine seller's establishment.

It has been tentatively suggested that the Demeter sanctuary lies just to the east of building Y, in the area which has not been excavated (Papahadzis, (1974):154f). There was a bridge across the Eridanos on the inside of the city wall, by the entrance to the Pompeion which reached the south side of the river where these buildings are, so Pausanias may have wandered over to this side (*Plate 9 bottom*; Knigge, (1991):pl.54d). But Pausanias describes the Naos of Demeter as being πλησίον (nearby) the Pompeion. This clearly means that the two buildings were close by each other (compare his use of the word elsewhere, e.g. *Index. s.vv. Bouleuterion, Aphrodite Ourania, Conclusion*). Also, it seems more likely for the shrine to have been built closer to the so-called "Sacred Road" which the procession took on the fifth day of the festival, the 19th Boedromion (Paus.1.36.3; Plu. *Phoc.*28b, Εἰκάδι γὰρ ἡ φρουρὰ βοηδρομιῶνος εἰσῆχθη μυστηρίων ὄντων ἥ τὸν Ἰακχὸν ἐξ ἄστεος Ἐλευσινάδε πέμπουσιν). Horoi have been found on the so-called "Sacred road" (Paus.1.36.3) which record that it leads from the Kerameikos to Eleusis (Knigge, (1991):95, pl.146: ὁρὸς τες ὁδοῦ τες Ἐλευσινάδε; Koumanoudis, *supra* (1895):598; Knigge also, n.89, makes reference to Lenormant, *supra* (1864): 110ff, which still seems to be the best work on the road to Eleusis). Members of the procession could travel by carriage (Ar. *Plout.*, 1013ff; cf. the subsequent ban by Lykourgos, Plu.*Orat.Lyk.*842a).

Pausanias describes the images of Demeter, Kore and Iakchos carrying a torch as being by Praxiteles. Clement of Alexandria also describes a Demeter, Kore and a mystic Iakchos by Praxiteles (*Protreptikos*, 4,54 P, ἥ πού γ'ἂν ἔτι τὴν Πραξιτέλους Δήμητρα καὶ κόρην καὶ τὸν Ἰακχὸν τὸν μυστικὸν θεοῦς). Clement may have seen this very group. Clement describes Iakchos as mystic which may imply that Iakchos was carrying

the mystic torch, supporting Pausanias' description. Cicero mentions that in Athens there was a marble Iakchos (*in Verr* 4,60,135, ...*ex marmore Iacchum*). If the Iakchos seen by Pausanias and Clement, was the same one mentioned by Cicero, then it seems the Iakchos was originally, or at least in Cicero's time, on its own. Therefore further doubts are cast as to whether the grouping Pausanias saw was the original conception or was part of a later re-grouping from two different monuments, thus explaining the attempt at verisimilitude with the Attic inscription. Explaining also perhaps the inscription which indicated that *all* three statues were by the same great sculptor.

Pausanias described the lettering of Praxiteles' name written on the wall as being Attic (Whittaker, (1991):183-86). The Attic script, however, would be too early for *the* Praxiteles. Attic was being phased out before the decree of Eukleides in 403/2 and Ionic was used in private inscriptions before this date, which suggests that Ionic lettering should have been used in the inscription if the well known Praxiteles was the sculptor referred to in the inscription (Whitehead, (1992):18). The evidence we have suggests dates for the well-known Praxiteles between c.380-70 and c.330-25 (Stewart, (1990):276). The date of his death, is indicated from the fact that his son in 326 was paying naval liturgies which implies that he was in a position to take over his father's affairs, debts and obligations, which would suggest that Praxiteles had died. Euphranor and Praxiteles were said to have been contemporaries (Plin.NH.35.49-52), fl.104th Olym., ie.364-361. Euphranor was said to have painted the battle of Mantinea, which was fought in 362, in keeping with the dates assigned by Pliny; Praxiteles is also reputed to have been a contemporary of Skopas (Plin.NH.36.25-26, cf. 36.20), and of Leochares, Bryaxis and possibly Timotheos, (Vitruv.7, *prae*f.12-13). Why would the inscription then be written in an anachronistic script, possibly in Hadrian's time (see below)?

It seems that the original Demeter sanctuary had undergone some kind of renovation or had suffered at the hands of Sulla when he attacked Athens in 86. This is evidenced by the fact that the base of Kleiokrateia's dedication to Demeter and Kore was found built into a wall of a mid-1st-century stoa, along the road leading from the Dipylon to the Agora. The inscription is mid-fourth century (*Plate 9, centre*; Agora I 4165; Meritt, *supra* (1955):203; Shear, *supra* (1937):pl. 4 shows a photograph of the base where it was discovered, pl.5,6; *ILN*, July 18, 1936; Meritt, *supra* (1957):200ff., pl.50, E3; Marcadé, (1953-) II,115, Pl. 44, 1 44,2, who dates it to c.361; Corso, *supra* (1986):90). It has two inscriptions: on the right hand side the dedication of Kleiokrateia to Demeter and Kore, and the signature of Praxiteles, while on the left the inscription has been erased and the artist's signature has been read as [--]ys[i]kl[es] (Shear, *supra* (1932):339-342; D.41(*against Spoudias*),3). Thus it seems that the left hand statue was by another hand.

There has been no suggestion who this sculptor [--]ys[i]kl[es], could have been. This base has been dated to about 361. They were most likely private portraits set up to honour the goddesses, each dedicated at a slightly different time, and by a different sculptor. Owing to the large size of the base it had probably not been moved very far from its original position. If this is the case, then the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may have been located somewhere along the same road, close to the Pompeion. The original statues may have been removed from their base at the time of the threat of Sulla and later re-dedicated along with the restoration of the cult building. This may explain why the inscription Pausanias saw was written on the wall, and accordingly the dedication artificially aged, a common practice in the Roman period (Shear, *supra* (1937):339-42, see also *Index s.v. Poseidon*). Musti also suggests that the inscription was written in archaizing letters in Hadrian's time (Musti and Beschi (1987):263, quoting the inscription on the Via Appia for Annia Regilla, commissioned by Herodes Atticus, which contains references to Demeter and Kore).

Corso does not believe that the statues which stood on the Kleiokrateia base had been the cult statues described by Pausanias, since there was no Iakchos (Corso, *supra*(1986):84; cf. also 36.20 *opera eius sunt Athenis in Ceramico*; cf. Linder, *supra* (1984):11-45). But Corso's reasoning takes as fact the assumption that the Iakchos had formed part of the original group, since Pausanias mentions the three together as a group. But the fact that the inscription was written on the wall suggests that the statues may have been rededicated, which explains why the Attic script was used, namely to artificially age the inscription to authenticate the group which was later composed when the three images were placed together. As well as women, Praxiteles preferred to sculpt young boys (Stewart, (1990):64). This does not necessarily mean that Praxiteles sculpted the Iakchos, but is a consideration in the question regarding why the attribution was made in the Roman period.

A colossal marble toe of a seated figure was found in the fill of the Eridanos (von Freytag, *supra*(1984):48, fig. 34). There is no way of telling whether this belongs to a male or female image or indeed whether the image was in fact a cult statue. But its presence should be noted since its location in the Eridanos suggests that it may have broken off of an image close by.

Another base of the fourth century was found with a dedication to Iakchos and to the two goddesses mentioned in the dual, as was customary (*IG II² 4680*; Brueckner, *supra* (1931):25-28; see *Index s.v. Eleusinion*). It is interesting to note that this small base, measuring only 0.22m by 0.06m would only have room for one statuette, although

it has two separate dedications, one on each side to Iakchos and 'the two goddesses'. It may have only held a statue of Iakchos.

Iakchos was the son of Demeter and Zeus (*Orph.Hymn.51*; *Ar.Ran.338*), or else was Demeter's husband or the son and lover of Kore (Rose, *Handbook* 101,n.78; *LIMC* V, s.v. *Iakchos*, passim). Brumfield (*supra* (1981):203), discusses the improbability of the existence of the ritual in which the priestess and hierophant re-enacted the 'holy marriage,' since there was no underground chamber in the telesterion at Eleusis. Brumfield prefers an "announcement" of a divine birth, thus allowing the baby to be the principal outstanding figure, who was seen as Iakchos, Ploutos, Threptos, Triptolemos or Demophon. Iakchos was lead in procession with the so-called 'holy things' (τὰ ἱερά), by the Ephebes (*IG II²* 1006, 9; 1008,8; 1011,8; 1028,9; 1078,3; Graf, (1974):44).

It seems that Iakchos was recognised as playing a more important role in the Roman period than before (cf also Vergil, *G.I* 166. ...*mystica vannus Iacchi*; and Servius' comments; Spaeth, (1996):38ff). It must be remembered that Hadrian brought the Mysteries to Rome which must have increased the interest in the cult and therefore the popularity of it among the Romans (a list of Roman emperors known to have been initiated can be found in Spaeth, (1996):27). Iakchos' enjoyed increased popularity in the Roman period (for instance Strabo,X,iii,10: καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικὸν Ἰακχόν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καλοῦσι καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγέτην τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς Δήμητρος δαίμονα, where Iakchos is a *daimon*, not a god). His importance is reflected in the creation(?) of a priesthood for 'Iakchos the Leader' in the Roman period (*IG II²* 5044: Ἰερέως/ Ἰακχαγωγοῦ, Hadrianic or later; which marks the seat reserved for him in the Theatre of Dionysos (P.Maass, (1972), Burkert, (1990):51; Graf, (1974):40-66). Iakchos' increased popularity in the Roman period explains why, if he had not formed part of the original dedication, his image was later set up by the Dipylon with those of Demeter and Kore.

It is clear that the worship of Iakchos was important in the Eleusinian cult with the emergence of the god as an individual culminating in the Roman period. In the *Odyssey* (xi.43), he is the cry of the dead shades: ἰαχή, and there may have been a mention of him in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, l.419, although in quoting this passage Pausanias omits this line, 4.30.4 (Richardson, (1973):319; Bianchi, *supra* (1976):8; Sabbatucci, *supra* (1991):passim; Giebel, *supra* (1993):35,37). A shrine to him has not as yet been found in Eleusis, which seems to imply that Iakchos was merely a visitor to Eleusis, and that his main function centred in Athens. He was aroused by shouts from the initiates at the start of the journey back to Eleusis in order that he might lead them there, *Ar.Ran.*, 316-459, cf. *Hdt.*8,65. His name is derived from the shout itself, or "shriek"

(Hopkinson, commentary on Callimachos, *Hymn to Demeter*, 1.39; cf. Iambe being the personification of the Iambic Rhythm: Philoch. *FGH* 328,103, Hesychios ἱαμβή, ἱαμβίζειν; Richardson, (1974):213). In Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Dover sees Iakchos as being treated as the inventor of his own song, as the "founder of the processional ritual" (Dover, (1993), commentary on lines 398-410: εὐρῶν, where he also cites Kleingünther's article on divine inventors; Kleingünther, *supra* (1993):26-39).

Pausanias described Iakchos as carrying a torch. Torches were important in the worship of the dead (cf. Pausanias 1.30.2: a torch-race took place in the Burial Ground, which was possibly a direct continuation of a similar practice of the Classical period, *Ar.Ran.*129ff.; *LIMC* III, s.v. Demeter, no.405, young male with a torch depicted in a relief on a vase, c.330). This was an important feature in his worship, not least as guide, i.e. to lead the initiates through the darkness of both the night and, allegorically, their initiation. The iconography of Iakchos mirrors that of Dionysos: one carries a flaming torch and the other a thyrsos. The connection between the two was made in antiquity, where Dionysos is the son of Persephone (as Wili, *supra* (1955):81-82, and Arrian *Anab.* II.16,3, καὶ ὁ Ἰακχὸς ὁ μυστικὸς τούτῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ...; Hesychios, s.v. Ἰακχον; Photios, s.v. Ἰακχος; Suda, sv. Ἰακχος· ὕμνος εἰς Διόνυσον ᾄδουσι τὸν Ἰακχον, ὥσπερ δι'ἀγοράς; Hesychios, sv. Διαγοράς; *LIMC* V, s.v. Iakchos C I, fifth century; *RE* sv. Iakchos, col.613ff, Hdt.8.65). Iakchos was the personification of the shout of those in procession celebrating Dionysos and those initiates in the Mysteries (Phot. s.v, Ἰακχος Διόνυσος ἐπὶ τῷ μαζῷ; as Pochmarski, *supra* (1976):181-209; also Metzger, *supra* (1995):4-5). Iakchos was seen either as Dionysos himself or as his son (schol. *Ar.Ran.*342: ἄλλοι δὲ ἕτερον Διονύσον τὸν Ἰακχηον, οἱ τὸν αὐτόν; Hesychios s.v. Ἰακχον· τινὲς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον οὕτως ἔλεγον; cf. Jeanmarie, *supra* (1951):402, Dionysos the son of Zeus and Semele, herself the daughter of Zeus and Kore *Ar. Ran.*342, 397, 402, 408, 414) and although it has been thought that the introduction of Dionysos into the Eleusinian cycle occurred in the fourth century, there seems to have been an earlier connection (as Bianchi, (1976):9; Eur. *Bacc.*, 725-26; Schol. *Ar.Ran.* 324,479). Bacchus was linked with Demeter and Kore, as earth deities (note Suda, s.v. Δημήτηρ, ἡ γῆ οἶονεὶ Γημήτηρ).

A shrine sacred to Iakchos alone stood somewhere in Athens, although its exact location is unknown. According to Plutarch (*Aristd.*27,4), Demetrios of Phaleron, in his *Sokrates* says that Lysimachos sitting near the so-called the Iakcheion, interpreted dreams from a tablet for a living (...παρὰ τὸ Ἰακχεῖον καθεζόμενος ἔβασκε; also Alkiphr. *Epist.* III,23 ...παρὰ τὸ Ἰακχεῖον προτιθέντων καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους ὑποκρίνεσθαι...). Although both Plutarch and Alkiphron mention dreams, they say nothing regarding the

location or to identify the Iakcheion with the Demeter Naos by the Dipylon which Pausanias described. It is possible that the term 'Iakcheion' was merely a 'popular' name for an existing shrine (Kern s.v. Iakchos *RE* cols.615, identifies the Iakcheion with Pausanias' Demeter sanctuary). It seems likely that the shrine Pausanias saw at the Dipylon, was not the Iakcheion since it must be remembered that when Iakchos was invoked by shouts from the initiates at the start of the journey back to Eleusis in order that he might lead them there, it was at the beginning of the procession which started at the Eleusinion, under the Akropolis. So the Iakcheion was probably located there (Hesych. s.v. Ἰακχον... ἥ μίαν ἡμέραν τῶν μυστηρίων ἐν ᾗ τὸν Ἰακχον ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ἡ ὁδὸς ἦν οἱ μεμνημένοι ᾗδουσι). Also Pausanias described the shrine near the Dipylon as being *Demeter's*, and since he was an initiate in the Eleusinian Mysteries, he would have known to whom the shrine was primarily sacred, and would probably have added its other title if it had one, not least as a curiosity. It therefore seems that the *Iakcheion* was located at the city Eleusinion at the foot of the Akropolis, and may have been located within the *temenos* there, which would explain why it was not mentioned by Pausanias, (see Index s.v. *Eleusinion*).

There seem to be few representations of Iakchos on vases and relief sculpture in the Classical/Hellenistic period, Triptolemos being the preferred subject. The Ninnion plaque of the fourth century has a possible representation of him as torch carrier (Giebel, (1993):35; for other potential candidates, see the article by Simon, in *LIMC* V, s.v. *Iakchos*, and references; Bianchi, (1976):8, nos.1,2,3,5,6,7). If the small young male figure in the well known and much debated Pentelic relief stele from Eleusis (Athens,NM126=*LIMC* III, s.v. *Demeter* no.375) of the third quarter of the fifth century is Iakchos, this would pose a problem. This is because the composition has the youth flanked by two towering females which seems to represent some kind of initiation, or coming of age ceremony, which contradicts Bianchi's belief that the boy was Iakchos because of his youth (Bianchi, *supra* (1976):27). There is no extant evidence that Iakchos was conceived as having had to undergo such a process (see Leisegang, *supra* (1955):239, n.17). Triptolemos was shown as youth in a number of Eleusinian votive reliefs. Other suggestions as to the identity of the youth in the Eleusis relief have included Dionysos and Triptolemos (Holloway, *supra* (1958):404-408). One important relief shows a family approaching Demeter who sits, Persephone standing, and a boy considered to be Iakchos who holds an image of wealth on his arm (Agora S1251, Camp, (1990):266). It dates to the fourth century.

2.4 An image of Poseidon on horseback, throwing a spear at the giant Polybotes

Bibliography: K.Tümpel, "Poseidon-Brasidas von Kos", *Rhein.Mus.* 46 (1891):528-551; W.B.Dinsmoor, *AJA* 24 (1920):83; Vian, (1951), no.427; Vian (1952): 202-03, 226, 230-3; H.Rupprecht Goette, "Eine grosse Basis vor dem Dipylon in Athen", *AM* 105 (1990):269-78, pl.55-58.

Commentary: Not far from the *naos* of Demeter Pausanias saw an image of Poseidon on horseback, aiming a spear at the giant Polybotes. Pausanias notes that the inscription which was modern indicates that the statue was assigned to someone else and not to Poseidon. This means that the identification rests on the iconography of the statues, even taking into consideration that some alteration may have taken place in the Roman period (Musti and Beschi (1987):263-64). Cicero regrets the practice of altering inscriptions on other statues which was common especially in the Roman period (Cic.*ad Att.*, 6.1.26: *odi falsas inscriptiones statuarum alienarum*). Athens was well-known for re-using inscribed blocks (Dio Chrys.*Or.*31; Tac.*Ann.*1.74; Cass.Dio. 59.28.2; Sueton.*Gaius* 22.2; Whittaker, (1991):178, n.8).

The foundation blocks of a large early 2nd-century AD monument base found to the north of the Dipylon are not likely to have supported the Poseidon and Polybotes which Pausanias describes, since it may have supported a pillar monument, like that dedicated on the Akropolis at the north-east corner of the Parthenon, later used for a statue of a Roman Emperor (Höpfner, (1976):171, pl.15; cf. Goette, *supra* (1990):269-78, pl.55-58; the Akropolis base: *IG II²* 3272, *BCH* 110 (1986):674f, fig.8; Dinsmoor, *supra* (1920):83; Goette, *supra*(1990):274).

Polybotes was one of the giants who made war on the gods (Vian, (1952): 202-03, 226, 230-3). He was ultimately killed by Poseidon who dropped the island of Kos on him and then shaped his body into the island of Nisyros (Apollod.*Bibl.*1(38)6.2; Hygin. *in Praef. fab.*; Strab.10.5.16; Eustath. Dion. *Perieg.*v.625; Nisyros: Steph.Byz. sv. Νίσυρος; Suda. sv. Νίσυρος; cf. Tümpel, *supra* (1891):528-551, who compares the five accounts).

It is difficult to decide when the original statue of Poseidon would have been made. There are many images of Poseidon attacking Polybotes which have survived from antiquity. The giant is often down on one knee and looks back at Poseidon over his right shoulder, just as the god is coming down for the kill with his trident in his right hand, while with his left hand he grips the giant's head or neck (*Plate 10*; for instance: *LIMC* IV, s.v. *Gigantes*, no.170, bf., 2nd half of 6th century; no.171, line drawing, dinos in Malibu, Getty Mus. 81, AE 211, 2nd half of 6th century, Poseidon holds raised trident, and he pushes a rock in his left hand on to the giant; note that Pausanias calls his weapon a spear, not a trident).

Poseidon was identified as the patron of horsemen, embodied in the belief that Kolonos Hippios in Athens was sacred to Poseidon, since it was there that the god had given instruction regarding the curbing of horses (S.O.C. 887-89; 712-15). Pausanias describes the Poseidon he saw by the Dipylon Gate as being on horseback. Such representations of Poseidon are common, especially where the horse is a marine creature (for example: conventional horse: *LIMC* VII, s.v. *Poseidon*, no.70, 520-500, Simon, (1980):84, 520-480; no.159, Attic c.500/490, *Plate 10 top*; no.162, c.420/10; large winged horse: no.156, early 5th century, Poseidon is bearded, and wears a garland in his long hair, a short *chiton* and cloak; horse with fish tail: no.158, early 4th century). A gem shows Poseidon bearded and on horseback. He aims his weapon at a sea creature which is cowering away from the rearing horse (*LIMC* IV, s.v. *Gigantes* no.73: the horse has no wings or tail and therefore is the closest image to what Pausanias describes). The giant has snake legs, a common feature in later representations of the giant.

This motif was also popular in the Roman period (*LIMC* VII, s.v. *Poseidon/Neptunus*, in chariot, no.63, no.68 (seal), Poseidon/Neptune's cloak flies behind him; nos.67, 69 (seals), nos.98, 105, 106, 108,112; no.103, mosaic in which Poseidon/Neptune is naked on sea horses which have fish tails; nos.104, 107, 116 Poseidon/Neptune is bearded and naked, his trident is raised towards a creature with a fish tail, a twisted sea-shell is under the Triton's arm). But it is not likely that the Poseidon Pausanias saw near the Dipylon had been made in the Roman period, rather it is probably Hellenistic or earlier, in view of Pausanias' comment that the inscription was modern and labels the statue as being someone else not Poseidon. The image of Poseidon was re-used because the motif had retained its popularity throughout the Roman period, as the number of examples attests.

2.4 Kerameikos

Bibliography: Wycherley, (1957):no.99; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):51f; Bradeen (1974); Clairmont (1983), *passim*; Shear, (1971):267, pl.4 F2; Whitehead (1990): *passim*; U.Knigge, *The Athenian Kerameikos*, DAI (1991); Lalonde, et al. (1991); Townsend, (1995):106, pl.61.

Commentary: Pausanias indicates that he is about to walk down the road which leads from the gate to the Agora. Pausanias calls the Agora the Kerameikos. By Pausanias' time the Greek Agora, referred to as the Kerameikos, was no longer used as a market square, which is what 'Agora' means. It had in fact been moved to what is now referred to as the Roman Agora which stands at the end of the road which leads east away from the Greek Agora behind the Stoa of Attalos (*Plate 2*).

There seem to have been two traditions in the use of the designation Kerameikos: in later authors it refers only to the Agora, while in the Classical period it expressly refers to the area outside the City Wall where the public cemetery was and also the road leading from the Dipylon to the edge of the Agora, Pausanias does also use the word "agora", but in that instance seems to refer specifically to the *open* area on the east side (Paus.1.17.1; cf. Megarian Agora 1.43.8; 44.2; and at the Piraeus 1.1.3); Pausanias must be referring to the open 'Market square' in these instances. The earliest evidence in the Classical period comes from Thucydides' account of the Harmodios and Aristogeiton episode, where it is clear that Kerameikos refers to the area outside the city walls (Th.6.57.1: Hippias is getting the procession ready *outside* in the Kerameikos; see Index sv. *Harmodios and Aristogeiton*). The burial ground outside the walls was known as the Kerameikos (Ar. Av.395: ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νῶ: "Kerameikos will receive us", i.e., when they die, they will be buried in the area known as the Kerameikos; also Th. 2.34.5: the area outside the city; cf. Suda, sv. Κεραμεικός: τόπος Αθήνησιν, ἔνθα οἱ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀναιρούμενοι ἐθάπτοντο...εἰσὶ δὲ ἐνθεν στῆλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δημοσίαις τεθαμμένοις, ἔχουσαι ἐπιγραφάς ποῦ ἕκαστος ἀπέθανεν). This is also clear from Pausanias' description of the cemetery near the Academy (1.29.2-16), and the archaeological and epigraphical evidence of burials (see Clairmont, (1983), passim for texts and discussion of the inscriptions, see also Pls.1-3, for locations; Bradeen, (1974) also for monuments found in the Kerameikos) indicates just where the cemetery was located outside the city wall (note that Pausanias does not call this area Kerameikos, he just describes the tombs found there; also X.Hell.2.4.33, the Spartans were buried *in front* of the gates in Kerameikos: πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ).

Horoi have been found all bearing the same inscription stating that they mark the boundary of the Kerameikos (*Plate 11*). All have the inscription: ὄρος Κεραμεικοῦ. One stood against the Dipylon Gate, on the south-west side (*IG* II² 2617= Agora XIX no.3 *in situ*, early 2nd century, coinciding with other building work in the area of the Dipylon Gate and Pompeion; Hymettian marble; inscribed on both sides). Another stele stands in a similar position on the north east side of the gate, but the inscription is worn. It may have also recorded the boundary of the Kerameikos, but since no inscription can be read on it, this is speculation. Three other *horoi* stood on the Road leading to the Academy (*IG* II² 2618= Agora XIX no.4; *IG* II² 2619= Agora XIX no.5; and one unpublished I 6835=Agora XIX no.2; cf. stele of the same series found loose in a drain in modern Alexandria Street, between Kolonos Hippios and the Academy=Agora XIX no.6).

The location of the fourth is most intriguing since it was found inside the city wall (Agora I 5770= Agora XIX no.1; Shear, (1971):267, Pl.4 F2 on plan; found in section

MuMu). Since the city wall was built in the 470's and this last inscription is dated to the early 4th century, it is clear that this horos was set up in position after the wall was built, which means that the Kerameikos extended within the city wall, at least up to the Agora in the 4th century. Since the dates of the other four horoi all postdate this one, the original area known as 'Kerameikos' must have extended at least to the edge of the Agora, and possibly the extant four boundary markers (above) were in fact copies of earlier versions. Since they all face the road which passes from the Academy, through the Dipylon, to the edge of the Agora, the road itself may have been included in the term Kerameikos.

In the Roman period this seems to have changed, and now the term 'Kerameikos' covers the Agora as well as the road, but not the area outside the gates (cf. Athenaios, 5.212e,f, where the Kerameikos is described as being full of citizens which the speaker pushed his way through until he reached the Stoa of Attalos where he stood, and in fact a bema has been discovered right in front of the Stoa as indicated on the plan, *Plate 13*; Townsend, (1995):106, pl.61; Wycherley, (1957):no.99; Thompson and Wycherley (1972):51f; Arr.*Anab.*3.16.8; Paus.1.20.6; Lucian. *Pisc.*13; Lucian, *Jup. Trag.* 15,16,32; except Philostrat.*vit.soph.*2.1.7, where the 'Outer' Kerameikos must be meant, for the start of the procession; cf. Th.6.57.1, where Hippias is outside the gates preparing for the procession). Roman period commentators on ancient authors, deriving their information essentially from Hellenistic sources, seem to have been aware of there being two traditions, and so explain that there had been two areas known as Kerameikos, one inside the city and one outside (Harpokration quoting Antiphon in his speech against Nikokles regarding boundaries, s.v. Κεραμεικός... ὁ μὲν ἔνδον τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἔξω, ἔνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσαντας ἔθαπτον δημοσίαι καὶ τοὺς ἐπιταφίης ἔλεγον...; also Hesychios, εἰσὶ δὲ δύο Κεραμεικοί· ὁ μὲν ἔξω τείχους, ὁ δὲ ἐντός). But in fact there is no evidence to suggest that in the Classical and Hellenistic period the Agora also came under the area known as Kerameikos. The designation Agora is always applied to locate buildings there if such an indication was warranted, (Plu. *Arist.*20; S.*OT*, 161; Arist.*Rhet.*1.9.38 (1368a); Lykourg. *Leok.*51; *IG* II² 968, line14; 646, lines 37-40). It is, therefore, misleading to search the Byzantine authors for evidence of the extent of the Kerameikos without looking at the ancient sources themselves.

The name of the deme *Kerameis*, which may or may not be an area distinct from the Kerameikos poses its own problems (Meiggs and Lewis, (1989):136, no.50, *ATL*). The confusion in the Suda and Photios, where the latter considers *Kerameis* to be the correct name (Photios, sv. *Kerameis*), while the Suda, Kerameikos, (Suda, sv. *Kerameikos*). This may indicate that there were in fact two separate names which at some

time overlapped, possibly in antiquity not least since in inscriptions it seems to be referred to in terms of those belonging to the deme collectively. It is always accompanied by the preposition ἐκ, like ἐκ Κοίλης, ἐκ/ ἐγ Μυρρινούττης and ἐκ Κηδων (Whitehead (1990), *passim*). The deme is also attested in literature (Pl. *Protag.*315d: Πανσανίας τε ὁ ἐκ Κεραμέων). The people who lived there were referred to as Kerameis and were a distinct group of people, separated by accent, trade or status (Ar.*Ran.*1093, cf. 129). Owing to the abundance of potters' kilns and wares found, it is possible that the deme name *Kerameis* originally referred to the group of potters who lived and worked in the area Kerameikos (Shear, (1971):300; *IG* II²1635,143).

Pausanias notes that the area received its name from the hero Keramos, a fact which is not unknown in other sources (Paus.1.3.1; Harpokrat. s.v. Κεραμεῖς:...ἀπὸ τῆς κεραμικῆς τέχνης καὶ τοῦ θύειν Κεράμωι τινὶ ἥρωϊ). That Keramos was a significant hero for the area Kerameikos is interesting since his name means clay, which ties in with the fact that the area was well known for the presence of potters and their workshops (the district possibly named after their art: Pl. *Pol.*288a, the potter's art: ἡ κεραμική; Harpokrat. sv. Κεραμεῖς:...ἀπὸ τῆς Κεραμικῆς τέχνης...; also Aeschin,3.119, potters' workshop, τὸ κεραμεῖον).

But why did Pausanias have the hero absorbed into the genealogy of Dionysos? *Kerameon* was a large wine jar (Ar.*Lys.*200; cf. also κεράμιον: X.*Anab.* 6.1.15 and Hdt.3.6). Thus the link between the root of the name of the hero Keramos, believed to be a son of Dionysos, the god of wine, and the name of the vessel used to hold his father's wine need not be elaborated. But according to Pausanias Ariadne was his mother (Paus.1.3.1). Why out of those with whom Dionysos had liaisons, should Ariadne be his mother? Ariadne's nephews were directly connected with Dionysos, the god of wine. One of the her brother Deukalion's sons, Orestheus, planted the stick which became the vine, while another of his sons was the first to mix wine with water, this may explain her being chosen.

2.4 The Stoas from the Gates to the Kerameikos

Bibliography: T.L.Shear "Athens: From City State to Provincial Town", *Hesp.* 50 (1951):356-77; Y.Nikopoulou, *AAA* 4 (1971):1-9; O.Alexandri *Delt.* 27 (1972), B' 1 [1976]:23-27; Shear, (1973):370-382; T.L.Shear Jr., (1981):369-72; *Agora XIV* pl.8;

Commentary: The Kerameikos to Pausanias is the Agora (see Index sv. *Kerameikos*). So the stoas which are mentioned by Pausanias stood on the road between the Dipylon and the Agora. Of the stoas so far excavated in this area, most date to c.100AD, not Augustan (Shear Jr, *supra* (1981):370, n.59). Streets lined with stoas were a feature of Roman civic

architecture. By Himerios' time the stoas leading from the Dipylon to the Agora had all become commercial but before him, they had housed cults as well as vending establishments (Himerios, *Orat.*3.12; also Shear, *supra* (1951):369). An Hellenistic inscription reveals that large stoas stood in the Kerameikos area (*IG II²* 968, line 14: ἐν κεραμεικῷ μακρὰς σῆρας... 151/0; found in the Agora). If it is agreed that the Kerameikos area extended up to the Agora in the Hellenistic period, then this inscription must refer to the stoas which Pausanias saw along the road from the Dipylon which lead to the Agora.

The colonnade which bordered the street on the south side behind the Basileios Stoa was built at the beginning of the second century to judge by pottery found (Shear, (1973):377, n.35; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):pl.8). The stoa had two stylobates, columns of poros limestone and floors of beaten earth (the colonnade on the north side is described by Nikopoulou *supra* (1971):1-9 and Alexandri *supra* [1976]:23-27).

Since the area has not been fully excavated, speculation may seem fruitless, but one serious problem should be addressed here, namely the location of the Leokoreion:

The Leokoreion

Bibliography: Pittakys, *L'Ancienne Athènes*, Athens (1835):77-78; Wachsmuth, (1874) II, p.418, n.1; Judeich, (1931):338, n.8; Wycherley, (1957):109ff; Shear, (1971): 126-34, 360-9; Camp, (1992):78-9; Kron; Robertson, (1992):98-105; Coulson, Palagia et al. (1994); M.Lefkowitz, "The Last Hours of the Parthenos," in E.Reeder, *Pandora*, Princeton (1995):32-38; A.J.Ammermann, "The Eridanus Valley and the Athenian Agora", *AJA* 100 (1996):699-716.

Commentary: Pausanias does not mention the Leokoreion even though he recounts the tale of the sacrifice of Leos' daughters when he comes to describe the statue of the Eponymous hero in the Greek Agora. It seems, however, that Pausanias may have actually seen the shrine as he walked down the road from the Dipylon Gate to the Agora. Up until now the Leokoreion has been identified with the remains of the shrine on the north east side of the Agora (*Plate 13, top: the small square sanctuary south of the well*; the identification of the shrine as being that excavated in 1971 and reported by Shear *supra* (1971): 126-34, 360-9, has been doubted by Camp, (1992): 78-9, and Kron (also Townsend, (1995):17,n.55 and 57 "no substantial evidence to support the suggestion that the altar marked the site of the Leokoreion"; cf. the round altar: Thompson and ycherley (1982):123,n.35). But by far the commonest opinion is that this was the shrine known as the Leokoreion (Thompson, Wycherley, Koumanoudes and Kolb; cf. Robertson, (1992)). This is based on inference from literary sources. Ancient authors claim that the shrine

was set up to commemorate the daughters of Leos who were sacrificed in accordance with the Delphic oracle, in order to stop the plague (Aelian, *Vari.Hist.* 12,28: ..τό τέμενος τῶν Λεῶ θυγατέρων...; Aristides, *Pan.*13,119: Λεῶς...ἐκοτῆναι τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ οὗτος ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ...; Cicero, *de nat. deor.* 3,19 (50)...*delubrum Athenis quod Leocorium nominatur*; etc. see Wycherley, (1957):109ff, Theodorus, *Anth.Gr.*, 2,265: ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς ταῖς θυγατράσιν ἀνέθεσαν τοῦ Λεῶ καὶ πᾶσιν αὐτάς οἷς εἶχον ἐτίμων κατὰ ταῦτά τοῖς θεοῖς). More than once, and on a quasi-philosophical level, Theodorus says that shrines were set up to Leos' daughters and by doing so the daughters were put on the same level as the gods.

It seems most likely that the Leokoreion was on the north side of the Agora. An inscription which records the name of the Leokoreion was recorded by Pittakys and had been found in St. Philip's Church on the north side of the Agora; it now seems to be lost (Pittakys, *supra*, (1835):77-78; Wycherley, (1957):113). It has been dismissed (Wachsmuth, (1874)II:418, n.1; Judeich, (1931):338, n.8). Its existence does not seem too improbable when one considers that the Leokoreion may have stood to the north of the Agora, and possibly on the road between the Agora and the Dipylon. The inscribed block could have been taken down the road to the north of the Agora area and reused. But where it was exactly is a question whose answer may lie with Pausanias and Thucydides.

Pausanias mentions the story of Leos' sacrifice of his daughters, but does not mention the shrine (Paus.1.5.2). Usually, when he recounts a myth he is illustrating a monument or statue. In this instance he is standing in front of the Eponymous hero, Leos, which stood with the other heroes in the centre of the Agora. However, he nowhere mentions a shrine in the Agora which could be inferred as being the Leokoreion. From the literary sources quoted above it seems that the Leokoreion stood on the road leading to the Dipylon from the Agora, and was in fact one of the stoas which Pausanias saw along this road.

The Leokoreion is mentioned by Thucydides in his account of the tyrannicides (Th.6.57.3; 1.20.2). Hipparchos loved Harmodios, although his attempts to seduce him were unsuccessful. It is as a result of his failure which led Hipparchos to try to humiliate Harmodios. Both Hippias and Hipparchos invited Harmodios' sister to carry a basket in the procession, but when she arrived they denied that she had been asked at all. Harmodios was indeed insulted and he together with Aristogeiton (his middle-class lover), who at Hipparchos' first attempt had already set the wheels in motion to overthrow the tyranny, planned to murder Hipparchos at the Panathenaic procession, recruiting a small number of conspirators (for references see below). Hippias was preparing the procession outside the city in the Kerameikos, and Hipparchos was inside.

Harmodios and Aristogeiton were ready with their daggers outside the city wall and preparing to do the deed. One of their fellow conspirators was talking to Hippias so the two would-be-tyrannicides, thinking that they had been betrayed and not wanting it all to be for nothing, rushed through the city gates "just as they were" and murdered Hipparchos at the Leokoreion, Th.6.57.3: ...ᾠρμησαν ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν, καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεοκόρειον καλούμενον... Hippias, *outside* in the Kerameikos was brought the news of the murder, and he ordered his men to lay down their arms before they knew what had happened within the gates, in order that he might find any conspirators (Th. 6,57,1: ...Ἰππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλούμένῳ...; in Thucydides the name 'Kerameikos' is most definitely just the area outside the city Gates, where the dead were buried; it was shortly after in the beginning of the fourth century that the road from the Dipylon to the Agora came to be included (see Index s.v. *Kerameikos*).

What does this tell us about the position of the Leokoreion? Hipparchos was *inside* the city-walls, so the Leokoreion must have also been inside. Harmodios and Aristogeiton were *outside* when they saw Hippias talking to one of the conspirators. It is unlikely that they would have rushed far, brandishing their weapons without raising the alarm. Only Harmodios was killed immediately after the murder, not because the alarm had had time to be raised, but because Hipparchos' personal body guard was standing around him. Aristogeiton in fact managed to escape as the crowd rushed in. If the shrine which is generally regarded as the Leokoreion was in fact where Hipparchos was murdered, then the tyrannicides would have had to run at least 410m, the distance between the south side of the Dipylon and the Agora, not allowing for where they may have started outside the Gates.

The most important information given by Thucydides is that Hipparchos was putting the procession in order when he was killed by the Leokoreion, Th.1.20.2: τῷ Ἰππάρχῳ περιτύχοντες παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόρειον καλούμενον τὴν Παναθηναϊκὴν πομπὴν διακοσμοῦντι ἀπέκτειναν. This is an indication that he and therefore the Leokoreion should be located close to the route taken by the Panathenaic procession, i.e. the Panathenaic Way. Since it is unlikely that Harmodios and Aristogeiton would have run far looking for Hipparchos brandishing their weapons, and that Hipparchos may have been organising the procession at the start of the route, I propose that the Leokoreion, where they fell on Hipparchos, must have been near the Dipylon and Pompeion, or at most a short way along the Dipylon-Agora road. Further to this, one possible analysis of the word Leokoreion was suggested by Robertson, (1992):103-5: λῆώς, "host" and κοσμεῖν as he translated "marshal". Therefore the Leokoreion was like a muster point for

processions. Robertson puts forward the point that at Gortyn, *κόρμος* and *πρόκορμος* are older dialect forms of the words *κόσμος* and *πρόκοσμος*: "order" and "president of the *κόσμος*", arguing a general change from rho to sigma. If this is the correct analysis of the original form, then it would lie well with the supposition that the Leokoreion was situated on the Panathenaic Way, most likely at the beginning, near the Pompeion. This is especially true since Hipparchos was getting the procession in order, a job more suited to the beginning of the procession. The Pompeion and the Leokoreion cannot have been the same building, since they are both mentioned in contemporaneous texts of the second half of the fourth century ([D.]34 *Phorm.*39; *IG II²* 1673, line20, 327-26).

It is highly improbable that the procession had already begun when the tyrannicides decided to rush through the gates and commit the murder; from a practical point of view it would have been difficult to push past those members of the procession going through the narrow Gateway. They could not have been in the procession and broken away from it at the relevant point, for Thucydides says specifically that they *rushed* through the gates. Also Aristogeiton slipped away as the crowd rushed up: surely if the procession had already started there would have been a mass of people there. If the Leokoreion and the murder had been in the Agora, then surely the crowd would have been there already, gathering not least in anticipation of the imminent procession. It is likely that Thucydides would have given the information if the procession had started for it would have added to the audacity of their deed, which Thucydides would not have been slow to mention. The fact that Thucydides passes judgement on their quick decision to commit the act at that moment, is indication enough that he would also have commented on the fact that they were even rash enough to dare their deed as the procession had started:

6.57: "...they rushed inside the Gates,and immediately fell on him without a thought for their safety, but acting entirely under the impulse of rage caused, in the one case, by love and in the other by wounded pride."

6.59: "In this way the conspiracy...originated in the wounded feeling of a lover, and their reckless action resulted from a momentary failure of nerve." (transl. Rex Warner, 1954).

Phanodemos, the Attic mythographer of the beginning of the fourth century, is preserved by lexicographers as saying that the Leokoreion was 'in the middle of the Kerameikos' (Phanodemos: *FGH* 325 F8; Harpokrat. sv. *Λεωκόριον*; Hesychios; Photios, *Λεωκόριον*,b, ...έν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ; Schol. ad D. 54 (Konon) 7.: ἡρώιον μνημεῖον τῶν Λεὼ κορῶν έν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ; Hesychios: *Λεωκόριον* μνημεῖον τὸ καλούμενον *Λεωκόριον* έν μέσῳ τῷ Κεραμεικῷ). This is often taken to mean that the Leokoreion was in the middle of the Agora, since Kerameikos means

Agora in Late authors (sv. *Kerameikos*). While this is true of Late authors (Arrian, *Anab.* 3.16.8; Athenaios, 5.212.e,f; Philostrat. *Vit.Soph.* II,5,4; Agrippeion in *Kerameikos*, which of course is that known as the Odeion; Pausanias 1.3.2, 1.20.6) it is certainly not true of classical authors nor their commentators who mirror the vocabulary of the classical authors (Alkiphron *Epist.* 2.3.11, lists the Agora as a separate entity from the *Kerameikos* and the Akropolis; Th. 6.57.1; Ar.*Av.* 395; X.*Hell.* II,4.33). *Kerameikos* must then be the area outside the Dipylon Gate and the Dipylon-Agora road and cannot possibly be the Agora. So where was the Leokoreion?

Pausanias mentions that there were stoas on the Dipylon-Agora road, with statues of men and women in front of them. Leos' sacrificed daughters, were not goddesses but ordinary people. It is possible that their images may have been in front of the Leokoreion, which may have been (in?) one of the stoas Pausanias describes lining the street from the Dipylon to the Agora. This is not such a long shot. In Menander's *Dyskolos* an area for loiterers is said to be "τὸ τοῦ Λεώ," "The Place of *Leos*," together with any stoa (Men. *Dys.* 173: τοῦτ' ἐστὶν νενομίκατ' ἢ τὸ τοῦ Λεώ; "Do you take this for a stoa or the assembly place?" translation H.Maehler). Koumanoudis (*supra* (1959):91) suggested that this "place of *leos*" might have been the Leokoreion, and it is possible if taken together with all the evidence discussed above and below that the "place of the Λεός," "the place of the people" was known as the *Leokoreion*. The Leokoreion is elsewhere mentioned as a landmark for an area of disrepute: at least one hetaira stayed not far from the Leokoreion (Alkiphron, *Epist.* III,5 (2) 1; if this is the implication of μένει, as Wycherley, (1957):109, translates: "lodges"; cf. Apostolios, *Συναγαγωγή Παροιμιῶν*. X 53: Λεωκόριον οἰκεῖς, ἐπὶ τῶν λιμωττόντων. D.54,7,8, near the property of Pythodoros). An ἀύλητρίς noted for attending symposia, also lived in this area (Theophylaktos Simokatta, *Epist.* 12).

The *Kerameikos* was known to be frequented by women of ill-repute, gamblers and wine sellers (Ath. 6.72, 258C; Alkiph. 2.22.2, 3.12.3, 28.3; schol. Pl. *Parm.* 127 C; schol Ar.*Eq.* 772; Lucian *D.Meretr.*, 4; Pollux. 9.96; Suda, s.v. Κεραμεικοί· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ προειστήκεισαν αἱ πόρναι). From the corrupt reputation that the area around the Leokoreion had obtained, from the evidence that the *Kerameikos* was known to be frequented by disreputable types, and from the presence of the *Kerameikos horos in situ* on the Dipylon-Agora road (see *Index s.v. Kerameikos*) the conclusion seems to be that if the Leokoreion had been in the district known as *Kerameikos*, it could have stood on the road leading to the Agora from the Dipylon.

Further evidence revealing that the area around the Leokoreion was renowned in antiquity as having a reputation for corrupt dealings and was most likely situated on the

Dipylon-Agora Road, comes from an Attic speech (D.54 (Konon)7). Ariston was attacked twice by Konon's son near the Leokoreion. It may be because of the bad reputation the area around the Leokoreion had, that Ariston had to stress that his intended destination was the Agora where he was accustomed to take an evening stroll. He says that he was met at the Leokoreion at the start and then again after he had turned back from the Pherrhephattion, Persephone's shrine. This shrine has as yet remained unidentified, although Hesychios notes that it was a place in the Agora (Hesych. Φερεφάττιον τόπος ἐν ἀγορᾷ). Another suggestion has been made which proposes that the foundations believed to belong to the Leokoreion, are in fact part of the Persephone shrine, due to the presence of female images (Robertson, (1992):101). Also the nature of the articles found in the well adjacent, to the north of the precinct suggest an Underworld deity. The objects found in the shrine include pottery, for instance a white-ground lekythos, curse tablets and a lead tablet which has the repeated inscription of the ritual cry, BAXXIOE.

Ariston was once again met at the Leokoreion by Konon's son and his gang. Ariston must have been walking for a while in the Agora, enough time for Konon's son to get to Melite where he rounded up a few of his companions and brought them back with him to the Leokoreion area. The fact that the Leokoreion was the assailants' selected spot twice, indicates that it was deliberate choice. If they had waited in the Agora they risked being seen and so could have been avoided. The Leokoreion afforded protection. They knew that their presence would not be betrayed by the characters who frequented the area. When Ariston was attacked he was thrown into the mire: ἐς τὸν βόρβορον (D. 54 (Konon)7). Βόρβορος refers to mud or human waste. For instance in Aristophanes the leader of the choros in the Wasps treads in some mud which has been created by the excess rain (Ar.Sph.259: "...but I think I'm treading in some mud. Oh, it's bound to rain for at least four days;" cf. Pl.Phaed.69c, "...the uninitiated ...will lie in the mire"; 110a: this comment arises after seeing above the clouds "...the earth seems only never-ending mud and mire..."). Human waste is also referred to by Aischylos to Strabo (A.Eum. 694: Athena: "...if you stain clear water with waste, you will never find a drink"; Strab.8.6.23: "The Corinthians, when subject to Philip... even tipped their waste on Roman ambassadors as they passed their house"). The Eridanus river was right at the entrance to the city, by the Sacred Gate, and ran along the Dipylon-Agora road and through the north side of the Agora, just how far is difficult to judge, since this area has not been thoroughly excavated (Ammermann *supra* (1996):699; Coulson, Palagia, *et al.*, (1994)). What is important is the proximity of the Eridanus to the Pompeion and the Dipylon-Agora road and therefore stoas which Pausanias mentions (Ammermann, *supra* (1996):699-716). It could be that the Eridanus was therefore the mire into which Ariston

was pushed. If so, then this would be further evidence that the Leokoreion may have stood close by the river, or the sewage gutter, which also ran close by, on the Dipylon-Agora road (*supra AR* (1983-84):9-10).

Further to the suggestion that the Leokoreion may have been closer to the Pompeion than is currently thought, an answer may lie with a possible analogy of νεωκόρος and νεωκόρειον ("servant, attendant", especially of a temple). This is explained as ὁ τὸν ναὸν κοσμῶν (Hesych. v.409; Suda K 2078; N228). Leokoreion, as said above, is the place where people are "marshalled", which may suggest that since Pausanias does not mention the shrine when he mentions the sacrifice of Leos' daughters (Paus.1.5.2), he did not follow the etymology which the scholion on Thucydides (1.20) believed true. The name of the shrine may then reflect its original purpose, namely as a place for gathering people together, rather than being a shrine commemorating the sacrifice of Leos' daughters. The fact that the connection with the daughters of Leos is not mentioned in Classical authors and only dates back to Hellenistic and later commentators suggests that it may be not be the original meaning of the name.

2.5 Stoa with Shrines of the Gods

Commentary: This whole passage of Pausanias has been overlooked, probably in part because the area has not been excavated. The presence of ἔτερος in this line may indicate that Pausanias is describing the "second" stoa, where ἔτερος=δεύτερος (*LSJM* 1.4 Hom.*Od.*10.352; X.*Cyr.*2.3.22). The stoa housed Shrines of the gods and the Gymnasium of Hermes. Nothing more can be said at present regarding the shrines of the deities, but there seems to be some case for the Gymnasium being one that was possibly used by the Hipparchs (see below: see *Index s.v. Gymnasium of Hermes*). If this is true then the stoa may have been connected in some way with the cavalry, possibly being the Hipparcheion, although there is no way of confirming this at present.

2.5 The Gymnasium of Hermes.

Bibliography: Burr, (1933):614-621, fig.82-86; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions: Dedications of the Fourth Century," *Hesp.* 15 (1946):176-77, pl.38; J.Travlos, "The West Side of the Athenian Agora Restored," *Hesp. Suppl.* 8 (1949):382-393, pl.54-56; R.E.Wycherley, "The Painted Stoa", *Phoenix* 7 (1953):20; J.Threpsiades and E.Vanderpool, "Πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς, Investigation at Nos. 7-9 Theseion Street, Athens", *Delt.* 18 (1963):99-114; Harrison (1965):108-117; K.Braun, "Der Dipylon-Brunnen B7, Die Finder", *AM* 87 (1970):129-32, 198-269; G.Gruben, *AM* 85 (1970):114-124 Shear, (1971):255-59, 265-66, 271-72, pl.57.c; Shear, (1973):164-65, 406-07; E.Vanderpool,

"Victories in the Anthippasia," *Hesp.* 43 (1974):311ff; J.Kroll, "An Archive of the Athenian Cavalry", *Hesp.* 46 (1977):83ff; J.Kroll and F.Mitchell, *Hesp.* 49 (1980):86ff; *BCH* (1982):533; Shear, (1984):41-43; C.Habicht, "Neue Inschriften aus dem Kerameikos", *AM* 76 (1991):[127-148] 136-38; G.Siebert, *L'image et la production du sacré*, Strasbourg, (1991):103-20; E.B.French *AR* (1992-93):5; N.de Chaisemartin, "Note sur l'influence de la planimétrie du gymnase hellénistique sur certains édifices romaines liés au culte impérial," in *L'Afrique, la Gaule, la religion à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay*, ed.Yan Le Bohec, Brussels, *Latomus* 226, (1994):628-649; R.A.Tomlinson, *AR* (1994-95):3; H.von Hesberg, "Das griechische Gymnasion im 2 Jh. v. Chr.," in Wörrle and Zanker, (1995):13-27; Stemmer (1995):298-99; Camp, (1996):236ff

Commentary: "Go to the Agora, to the Herms, the place frequented by the phylarchs and to their handsome pupils, whom Pheidon trains in mounting and dismounting," so a fragment of Mnesimachos reads (in Athen.9, 402; fr. 4, Kroll, *supra* (1977):83, n.1). A Gymnasium was of course somewhere for young men to train (cf. Worley, *supra Hippes*:32ff; Siebert, *supra* (1991):103-20), so was the gymnasium seen by Pausanias along this street the one mentioned by Mnesimachos, in which Pheidon trained his pupils?

Two wells have been found both of which contain a large number of lead tablets recording the price, colour and, where applicable, the identity marks of individual horses. These wells are situated, one at either end of the dromos leading from the Agora (Kroll, *supra* (1977):83ff. to the Dipylon Gate courtyard; for the well at the Dipylon see Braun, *supra* (1970):129-132, 198-269, pl. 83-92; Gruben, *supra* (1970):114-124). The lead tablets were rolled, most have the name of an Athenian written on the outside, while on the inside the values are written in hundreds of drachmas (minas). Generally, on the tablets which are dated to the third century, the price is preceded by the word, or an abbreviation of, τίμημα, equivalent to "worth".

Included in among the finds in the cross-road well in front of the Basileios Stoa, within the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the Agora West road, were 25 clay *symbola* of Pheidon, the hipparch of Lemnos (Kroll and Mitchel, *supra* (1980):86ff; Camp, (1990):239, fig.66, 145). These clay *symbola* date to the mid 4th century. The Pheidon whose name is on the clay *symbola* may have been the same man referred to in the fragment of Mnesimachos. A larger quantity of clay *symbola* was found in the well at the Dipylon: 570 in comparison with only 85 found at the Agora well, possibly suggesting that the official place had been closer to the Dipylon rather than the Basileios Stoa. Also found in both wells were small round lead armour tokens (Camp, (1990):

fig.146, greaves, helmets, shields, breast-plates are shown on the face of the token allowing issue of the armour depicted to the soldier bearing the token).

The deposits in the well near the Pompeion are in two layers. The first containing the *symbola* of Pheidon, dates to about the middle of the 4th century, while the second layer was later, as indicated by the more cursive and advanced lettering, suggesting a date in the mid third quarter of the 3rd century (lunate sigma as opposed to the earlier four bar version, of the 4th-century tablets). Thus it seems that this well near the Pompeion was used at two different periods to relieve the clearing processes undertaken by members of an official residence somewhere close to the Dipylon. Since this well also received the greater quantity of cavalry material it does seem to suggest that the deposit may have originated from the official residence of the Hipparchs known as the Hipparcheion (as in the inscription honouring a hipparch of 188/7, *IG II² 895*, line 6 =*SEG 21, 436* for an improved text). The hipparchs had to carry out individual inspections under the supervision of the Council to ensure that the animals had been properly cared for. Also they had to make a number of annual mass reviews in riding skill to decide whether the horses could be controlled in a military situation (*X.Hipp.* III,1 and 9; [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 49.1).

If it is agreed that the Phylarchs needed somewhere to train their men and examine the horses, then they probably needed some kind of open-air enclosure. Had a gymnasium been attached to the "Hipparcheion" (for gymnasia see Hesberg, *supra* (1995):13-27; de Chaisemartin, *supra*(1994):628-649)? If this had been the case then the gymnasium which Pausanias saw along this road, may have been the one which had been attached to the Hipparcheion.

After describing the Demeter sanctuary and Pompeion, Pausanias remarks that stoas line the street (see *Index s.v. Stoas*). The Gymnasium of Hermes seems to have been part of one of these stoas (see *Index s.v. Stoa with Shrines of the Gods*). The likely position of place where the Hipparchs carried out their inspection and training of their men and had their official residence in which they kept their records (on clay *symbola*, and lead tokens) seems to have been nearer the Dipylon than the Agora, suggested by the greater quantity of such deposits at the Dipylon end of the street. Also the stoa which Pausanias mentioned as housing the Gymnasium, was the "second" one along the street, which means that it was most likely located closer to the Dipylon than to the Agora.

A decree honouring a hipparch was found built into a Roman wall over the Pompeion, next to the Dipylon Gate, which was to be set up "near the herms" (*SEG 21, 435*, line11). Where were these Herms? Harpokration preserves the fact that Herms stood

on the road leading from the Agora to the Dipylon Gate (Harpokrat. sv. Ἑρμαῖ, ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως στοᾶς εἰσὶν οἱ Ἑρμαῖ καλούμενοι).

Demetrios was supposed to have set up a special stand for his mistress to see the Panathenaia, by, and slightly higher than, the Herms (Athenaios, 4.167e). If Harpokration is followed and the Herms stood along the street leading from the Agora to the Dipylon, then in order for Demetrios' mistress to have been able to see the Panathenaia "by the Herms" she must have been positioned alongside that very street down which the processions of the Panathenaia took (*Plate 13, top*). It therefore seems likely that the Herms referred to by Athenaios and the lexicographers were set up along this road, and that this was the area known as "The Herms" (Wycherley, *supra* (1953):20,n.2). This is also supported by the number of Herms found near the Basileios Stoa, adjacent to the dromos from the Dipylon to the Agora (Shear Jr. *supra* (1971):255-59; Shear Jr., *supra* (1973):164-65, 406-07; Shear, (1984):41-43, esp. note 77, group of four new shafts, and fragments of characteristic Herm heads, one of these dates to c.500, and as such is one of the earliest Herm heads found in the Agora; small marble head of a Herm from the early Classical period, found in the bottom of a Roman tile-lined well, French *supra* (1992-92):5).

So what has the position of the Herms to do with the location of the Hipparcheion and the possible connection with the gymnasium seen by Pausanias as he walked down the street to the Agora? The so-called Bryaxis base (*IG II² 3130=I 766=Ath.NM 1733*; c.350; Kroll *supra* (1977):83,n.3; Threpsiades and Vanderpool, *supra* (1963):99-114) was found *in situ*, behind the south end of the Stoa Basileios, between the Stoa of Zeus and the Basileios Stoa. It states that it was to be set up near the Herms: πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς. The inscription honours a member of the cavalry and even bears a relief of a man in a short *chiton* on horseback approaching a tripod (Stemmer, *supra* (1995):298-99, C4; Kroll, *supra* (1977):83,n.3; Threpsiades and Vanderpool, *supra* (1963):99-114; Dräger, (1994):33¹¹⁶). Since the base was found *in situ*, it is likely that 'the Herms' were located near this inscription, and so therefore near the Basileios Stoa. Combining the evidence afforded by the Bryaxis base inscription's original location with the discovery of a large number of Herms in this area (as above), it seems that the Herms may have been set up in and near the Stoa which was discovered practically touching the back of the Basileios Stoa. This may mean that it had in fact been known as the Stoa of the Herms (Wycherley,(1957):105, no.303; XIV pp.94-95; XI, pp.108-110; Travlos, *supra* (1949):388, and plan, p.386). If men were worthy they were allowed to have their names inscribed on one of the Herms (D.20.112: ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς). In contrast, when Kimon defeated the Persians at Eion on the River Strymon in 479, he asked the

Demos to set up three stone Herms in the Stoa of the Herms, but modestly requested that they did not inscribe their names onto them (Aeschin.III (*Ktesiphon*)183-85; Plu.*Kim.*7.3-5). This mention of Kimon and the Herms is the earliest reference to The Stoa of the Herms, which may imply that this stoa had in fact been *the* earliest stoa, since Kimon probably requested the erection of the Herms not long after his victory in 479. The Stoa Poikile which is believed to have been built c.460 would then be second in date, if the dates and identity of the Poikile are correct (Harrison, (1965):108-117, who also discusses an intriguing painting of three Herms on a pelike, by the Pan painter, pl.65a, in style it is dated to the 470's).

An inscription honouring *hipparchs* and *phylarchs* by decree of the cavalry was to be set up in the Stoa of the Herms: ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῶν Ἑρμῶν, and another to be set up at the Poseidonion (*supra* Agora I 7167 = *SEG* 21, 525, lines 43-44 Hymettian marble 282/1). The Poseidonion was a shrine on Kolonos Hippios (Harpok. and Suda, s.v. Κολωνέτας; Threpsiades and Vanderpool, *supra* (1963): 103ff, pl.38a). It is likely that members of the cavalry, *phylarchs* and *hipparchs* used to frequent the Stoa of the Herms and the surrounding area. Further in support of associating this area with the cavalry, another base was found directly behind the Basileios Stoa which bears a relief of cavalry men of Leontis (Agora I 7167; Shear Jr., *supra* (1971):271-72, pl.57c; Bugh, (1988):60, pl.7; Camp, (1990):134-8; Stemmer, *supra* (1995):298). A more fragmentary base was found near the south-east corner of the Zeus Stoa (Agora I 882: [Οἰνηϊς ἐ]νίκα/ [---χ.11---] ἐφυλάρχει/ [---χ.9---]ν Ὁῆθεν; Meritt, *supra* (1946):176-77, pl.38). It is probably a dedication from a victory in the *anthippasia* (*IG* II² 3079 and 3130). Originally it had been a capping member of a dedicatory monument topped by a projecting cornice now broken away (c.325; Meritt, *supra* (1946):176-77, no.24, photo from squeeze; for further details and inscription connecting the Herms with the cavalry, see Habicht, *supra* (1991):[127-148] 136-38; Vanderpool, *supra* (1974):311, esp. n.2; Shear, Jr. *supra* (1971):265-66). Just 40m north-west away from the Augustan temple on the north side of the Agora another stele was found honouring officers. Therefore the Stoa of the Herms may have been to the north-west of the Agora (Threpsiades-Vanderpool, *supra* (1963):109-110, no.2, =*SEG* 21 357, line 9, between 286-261; Wycherley, (1957):105, no.303; *SEG*,14:94-95; 11:108-110; Travlos, *supra* (1949):388, and plan, p.386. Stoa of the Herms: Tomlinson *supra* (1994-95):3).

Further to this, a number of artefacts have been found on the north side of the Agora which are of equine nature. These include horse heads from the early archaic period found in the area K/11=4/6,7, on the north side of the so-called 'Poikile Stoa' (Camp, *supra* (1996):236-9, pl.68; T 4359, T 4344, 7th century; cf. T 4373 which still

has a small area of gilding remaining on its forehead, in a 1stBC-1st AD context, at J/16,17-2/3,4, north of the 3rd room from the south of the Classical Commercial building; also Burr, (1933):614-621, figs.82-86, for earlier terracotta horses of the 7th century). This attests the antiquity of the cavalry association at the north side of the Agora (Braun, *supra* (1970):198-269, esp.240-42; Camp, *supra* (1996):236 fragments of early terracotta horseheads: T4359, 4344, pl.67, found over bedrock beneath Agora floor k/11-4/6,T; compare also Xenophon's recommendations for the route the cavalry should take in their dash through the Agora, in order to take in all the shrines and pay honour to the gods (X.*Hipp.* III,1 and 9; Schol. ad D.20.112, Harpokrat. s.v. *Hermai* by Antiphon).

2.5 Poulytion's House, sacred to Dionysos Melpomenos

Bibliography: P.Göbel, "Melpomene" *RE* (1931):586-589; B.Kruse, "Melpomene" *RE* (1931):589-90; E.Simon, *AA* (1979):37; G.Touchais, "Chronique des Fouilles en 1985," *BCH* 110 (1986):675, fig.13; Furley, (1996):39, and 42; Spaeth, (1996):28, 60.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the house of Poulytion as being inside the gymnasium of Hermes. In it the parody of the Eleusinian mysteries was performed. Pausanias notes that in his time it was sacred to Dionysos Melpomenos.

Poulytion had been a friend of Alkibiades, the Athenian general, son of Kleinias. Poulytion and Alkibiades were blamed for carrying out a parody of the Eleusinian Mysteries, and Alkibiades was called to appear before a hearing, but he fled to Sparta. He was later reconciled with Athens (Plu. *Alk.* passim; Corn.Nep. *in Alk.*; Th. passim; X.*HG.* 1.; Diod.12). But the offence of their actions was great since the Mysteries were an honoured and a most important sacred part of the Athenian Calendar. Initiation into the cult was shrouded in mystery and secrecy. Also there were a large number of members, especially in Athens, which meant that such an act of ridicule was an insult not just to the religious epicentre of Athens, but also to those individuals who had joined. Another important point is that the Mysteries had for a period been recognised as symbolising peaceful relations between Athens and other Greek states in Attika. The very fact that initiation into the Mysteries was open not to Athenians alone contributed to the feeling of unity and peace (Furley, (1996):39 and 42; see Spaeth, (1996):28, for how the Roman identification of Ceres had absorbed the attributes of Peace; Cic.*Leg.* 2.36: "We have been refined from a rustic and savage life to humanity and been civilised" transl. from Spaeth, (1996):60). Such Peace was at odds with the aims and ambitions of Alkibiades' supporters and probably have led him and his associates to profane the Mysteries in order to symbolically attack the "peace".

From the fourth century onwards the parody began to be connected with the Mutilation of the Herms (Lysias, 14, 41-42) whereas before they had clearly been considered separate (Th.6.28.1, 6.53.1; Andok.60.2-4; Furley, (1996):passim, esp.39ff.). It is hard to calculate the actual effect the resultant damage had on the Athenians, since outside most houses, shrines and altars stood a Herm (Furley, (1996):28). The Herms were in effect passive symbols of the Athenians' age-old piety to the gods, and such destruction was no doubt intended to be a shock tactic, to arouse the Athenians. It was an attempt to prevent the Athenians sending out the Sicilian Expedition (Furley, (1996):41; cf.p.30, who sees it as a *pistis*: a pledge of future conspiratorial intent).

Pausanias mentions that Poulytion's House was sacred to Dionysos Melpomenos in his time (ἐπ'ἐμοῦ), which may indicate that the cult had in fact been engendered late in the Hellenistic period, since the sources relating specifically to the cult post-date this period (*IG* II² 3114; end of the 1st century AD; *IG* II² 1132: last quarter of the second century, *SIG*³ 704E, an Athenian copy of an inscription in honour of the Athenians artists at Delphi; *IG* II² 1348, *et al.* an inscription recording the Priest of Melpomenos; *IG* II² 3479, dedication of an archon end of the second century). There are two seats in the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens which record that they were reserved for the "Priest of Dionysos Melpomenos," which means that there must have been two priests officiating for the cult. These both date to the Roman Imperial period (*supra* *IG* II² 5060: Ἱερέως Διονύσου Μελπομένου ἐκ Τεχνειτῶν; "Priest of Dionysos Melpomenos, from the artists;" *IG* II² 5056: Ἱερέως Μελπομένου Διονύσου ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν; "Priest of Dionysos Melpomenos from the Euneidoi;" cf. *IG* II² 5062: Ἱερεὺς/ Ἀντινόου/ Χορείου/ ἐκ Τεχνειτῶν).

One of the Theatre seats was reserved for the priest of Dionysos Melpomenos by decree of the artists (*supra* *IG* II² 5060). A house belonging to the Dionysian artists, at least in the Roman period, was said to have been located through the gate to the Kerameikos (Philostr.vit.soph.2.8.4). Since the author of this information, Philostratos, was writing in the Roman period, his reference to the Kerameikos designates the Agora (see Index s.v. *Kerameikos*). This means that the house referred to by Philostratos stood on the street leading from the Dipylon to the Agora. This is probably the same house Pausanias calls Poulytion's house. Both Pausanias and Philostratus use the word 'house' in describing the building which seems to suggest that they were referring to the same one.

It is not known how Dionysos Melpomenos was shown (*LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no.160). One of the Muses was called Melpomene, the daughter of Zeus and Mnemosyne and presided over Lyric poetry and Tragedy (Hes. *Th.*75-79, 915. Apollod.1.3.1; Göbel, *supra*(1931):586-89; Kruse, *supra* (1931):589-90). She wore buskins, held a dagger, a

sceptre and crowns (Hor. *od.*3.4). Dionysos Melpomenos may also have been portrayed with similar attributes to the Muse. There is, however, a marble statue of a female identified as a Melpomene type, who holds a mask in her left hand while her right hand rests on a club, the heaviest end of which touches the floor (Leningrad Hermitage, A 378, Slg. Campana; *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite no.176, pl.20). Her left leg is raised and rests on an object on the floor, hence the iconographical link with Pheidias' Aphrodite Ourania (Paus.6.25.1). She wears a garland on her head. The drapery shows the contours of her body but is not as fine as the garments of Aphrodite increasingly become, which may suggest that if the original of this statue is Classical, Melpomene or at least one of the Muses is represented (*LIMC* II, 27 A.Delivorrias, *et al.*). It has been argued that the image of Dionysos Melpomenos can be identified in coins (Simon, *supra* (1979):37). One of these shows Dionysos in a long chiton (AR litra, Galaria Rizzo, *MGS*, LIX, 20; *LIMC* III, s.v. Dionysos no.84). Links have also been made with a male torso from Thasos which was found near a female which may be a Muse, which has led to the suggestion that they are copies of the group by Kephisodotos of Helicon (*LIMC* II, 437, C.Gasparri). Also a seated male figure wearing a long chiton from Athens has also been linked with Dionysos Melpomenos (*LIMC* II, no.147, pl.312, and p.439, C.Gasparri).

2.5 Athena Paionia, Zeus, Mnemosyne, Muses and Apollo by Euboulides

Bibliography: L.Julius, "Die Reste der Denkmäler des Euboulides," *Mdl* 7 (1882): 81-85ff.; Judeich (1931):362-64; G.Becatti, "Attikà-Saggio sulla scultura Attica dell'ellenismo", *Riv.Ist.arch.* 7 (1940):14-16, 52ff, fig.30-31; G.Mattiopulos, *Zur Typologie der Göttin Athena im 5 Jahrhundert vor Chr.* (1968):139; Travlos, (1971):pl. 542; K.Ziegler, "Paionia, die Pfingstrose IV," *Der Kleine Pauly* (1975): 411; Papahadzis, (1976):159, fig.3; Stewart, (1990):88, pls.804-05.

Commentary: Pausanias is not averse to varying his sentence structure and his mention of these statues of the gods has caused many problems. If a closer look is taken at what Pausanias actually describes it can be quickly seen where the problem arises, notably the case changes and the move from ἄγαλμα to ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον: there was *an* ἄγαλμα of Athena Paionia: nom + genitive of Athena, there then follows a list of the deities names in genitives joined by a string of καί's up to and including the Muses, all dependent on the initial singular ἄγαλμα. Then there is another nominative, this time of the image of Apollo itself: Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου which is bound together with τε...καὶ..., and finally another nominative δαίμων which clearly is another separate image since Pausanias mentions that only his face can be seen (see *Index s.v. Akrotos*). The fact that there is a change from genitive to nominative in the

names of the deities and the distinction implied by Pausanias in his choice of words for the dedications (*agalma*, *anathema ergon*) may also imply a change in statue grouping. Although Pausanias does vary his sentence structure such a clear change of nominatives poses a problem, which may suggest that the Apollo was a separate dedication, thus Pausanias words: "Apollo, both a dedication and a work of Euboulides" (as Papahadzis, *ad loc.* and Musti and Beschi (1987):265).

But elsewhere Pausanias describes a statue group of Zeus and Demos at Sounion as being "a work of Leochares" (Paus.1.1.3). This illustrates the point that Pausanias can describe more than one statue as being part of one "work," *ergon*, the term Pausanias employs for the "work" of Euboulides (Julius, *supra* (1882):88; cf. Hill (1953):37, who also believes they were all part of one work). Pausanias uses both *agalma* (image) and *anathema* (dedication). Although the use of two nominatives would indicate another dedication, it is clear that Pausanias does use *anathema* to mean a dedication of an *agalma*, in which case there could be more than one statue dedicated by Euboulides. Therefore there seems to be a case for arguing that the Apollo may have formed part of the dedication with the Muses alone, which may account for why he does not repeat *kai* ("and") before Apollo's name: ...καὶ Μουσῶν, Ἀπόλλων τε ἀνάθημα καὶ ἔργον Εὐβουλίδου, "and the Muses and Apollo, a dedication and a work of Euboulides", but this may not be the answer either.

Large poros blocks of what has been estimated to have originally been about an 8m long pedestal were found in this area, large enough to take a number of statues (Section P; see *Plate 12. middle*, for a view along the modern road which is built over the ancient one, on which these blocks were found). It seems to have originally had three steps each 25cm high which supported two blocks of the pedestal itself. Also fragments of an Hellenistic inscription were found at the west end of Hermes Street, near the Dipylon region, which bear part of an artist's signature, probably Euboulides due to the presence of the patronymic known to have been the sculptor's: *IG II² 4298=EM10611*: Εὐβουλίδης Εὐχαιρος Κρωπίδης ἐποίησεν "Euboulides, son of Eucheir, of Kropis, made it." It is a block of Hymettian marble and its letter forms date it after the middle of the 2nd century. It was found in a house c.150-160m from the Dipylon, south of the Church of St. Asomatos, opposite the railway station, thus the find spot is not at variance with the Euboulides dedication seen by Pausanias. The patronym appears to be Eucheir and the township can be read clearly as Kropidai. The name of the artist must therefore be restored to Euboulides from the number of other bases found bearing his signature and the genealogy and provenance known of this family (cf. *IG II² 4291-4300*; Stewart, (1990):68).

All the images mentioned by Pausanias share a relationship with one another. Mnemosyne was the mother of the Muses and Zeus was the father (Hes.*Th.*75-79, 915, Apollod.1.3.1). But what about Athena *Paionia*? *Paionia* can mean "Healer" (S.*Trach.*1028, where Herakles asks his son Hylas to burn him on a pyre: it would be as his healing doctor, A.*Ag.*848, φαρμάκων παιονίων) and it is how most translators of Pausanias render it. But *Paionia* also shares the root of the Ionic and Attic form παίων, which of course is the paian, or Victory Ode, which would seem to make more sense if it was part of the same dedication as the Muses. But there is no evidence of Paeans being addressed to Athena. In which case, it may be more likely that the Athena stood on a separate plinth to the Zeus, Mnemosyne, Muses and Apollo (cf. other references to Athena *Paionia* in Pausanias: 1.34.3, 2.11.8, 4.33.4). At Oropos, Apollo also shares the title 'Paionios', which in that instance most likely refers to the healing nature of the god since the sanctuary there was a healing sanctuary (see *Index s.v. Amphiaraos*). Apollo may therefore have been on the same pedestal, since he was closely associated with the Muses (as Pausanias himself mentions just before describing this statue base, one of his epithets was *Mousegetes*, "Leader of the Muses"; Pind. frg.94c; *LIMC* VII, s.v. Mousa, Mousai/Musae nos.135-37). Apollo's association with the Muses dates back as early as Homer (Hom. *Od.* 8.488; Hes. *Th.*94-95).

The Athenian in Plato's *Laws* at one point says that since humans were born with suffering, the gods took pity on us. There follows a list of three deities who relieve unhappiness and provide welcome rest from the toil of life. The three are the Muses, Apollo *Mousegetes* and Dionysos. If we take a look again at Pausanias' description we find the Muses, Apollo and a mask of *Akratos*, possibly Dionysos himself (see *Index s.v. Akratos*) named together. That the three deities were perceived as forming some kind of triad is clear, but although this might prove the proximity of the images to one another it does not clear up the problem whether they shared a base with the other deities mentioned by Pausanias, Athena, Zeus and Mnemosyne. Pausanias had just noted that Dionysos was called *Melpomenos* (Singer) in the same way that Apollo is called *Mousegetes* (Leader of the Muses), was the image of Apollo dedicated by Euboulides an Apollo *Mousegetes*?

It is not known how the statue made by Euboulides was shown, but a statue of Apollo identified as *Mousegetes*, holds his lyre in his left hand, while his right hand is over his head, as if to encourage an imaginary band behind him (*LIMC* II, s.v. Apollo, no.713). It is possible that if Euboulides' Apollo was shown on the same plinth as the Muses then he may have shared characteristics similar to this Apollo *Mousegetes*. It is not unusual to find Apollo shown with just one or two Muses, so it is not necessary to

envisage all nine Muses on the same base along with Apollo. Since Pausanias describes the Muses as plural (Μουσῶν) there must have been more than one. Most of the images which show them together either have Apollo draped, holding or playing his lyre, or else one of the Muses passes him his instrument. Also one of the Muses plays the lyre, another a pipe, and Apollo is sometimes shown holding a staff with branches of leaves (*LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no.689-715).

A colossal ideal female head was found in the area between the Agora and the Dipylon Gate along with a female torso (head: *Plate 12, top right*:Athens NM 234, ht.0.60m; Becatti, *supra* (1940):52ff; torso: *Plate 12 top left*:Athens NM 233; Stewart, (1990):pl.804, 805). They date to around the second half of the second century (Havelock, (1981):128, no.103). On the back of the large female head was originally a Corinthian (?) helmet which provides the identity of the goddess as Athena. The vacuous stare of the goddess is typical of the neo-Attic movement (Stewart, (1979):52). If the female torso belongs to this base, it may possibly be of Nike, but could equally be one of the Muses (also Judeich, (1931):362-64). The style of the Nike's head is seen in a head in New York (Met.Mus.168; Stewart, (1979):62, n.90).

2.5 Akratos

Bibliography: M.Mayer, *AM* 17 (1892):268-27, 446ff; W.Wrede, "Der Maskengott", *AM* 53 (1928):66-95; Papahadzis, (1974): 161; E.Pochmarski, *Dionysische Gruppen: eine typologische Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Stützmotivs*, Vienna (1990); J.Latacz, *Einführung in die griechische Tragödie*, Göttingen (1993):45, fig.2; K.Schauenburg, "Zu einem Krater mit Maskenfries", *ÖJh* 66 (1997):87-99.

Commentary: Pausanias saw the *prosopon* of Akratos, attendant to Dionysos. *Prosopon* means 'face' and in this context probably means a mask. Mayer suggested this in the 19th century who believed that it had once been part of a colossal statue (Mayer, *supra* (1892):268-27). There is no surviving evidence to suggest that there had ever been a colossal statue of Akratos in Athens, or a colossal statue of Dionysos in this area.

Akratos literally means unmixed. The word usually refers to unmixed or often just "strong" wine (Davidson, (1997):48, and 323, n.18). When applied to people the adjective, *akratos*, implies they are unrestrained (A. *Prom.vinct.* 678: ἄκρατος ὀργὴν ἄπυρος, "Giant Argos of immoderate anger"). If wine was drunk without having water added to it, it was considered excessive, as a fragment of a comic poet warns: drinking your wine unmixed leads to paralysis! (Euboulus 9436-11 Kassel-Austin, ed. Hunter, (1983):185-89). In Menander's *Chalkēia*, a character yells for "Akratos, the big cup!" (Men.443, Koerte). He seems to call on Akratos himself. On an Italiote *krater* the left

profile of a bearded face is shown (*Plate 12, bottom left; LIMC I, s.v. Akratos, no.1, fig.1*). To the left of the face the name "Akratos" is inscribed, thus the name probably refers not only to the god but also to the contents of the vase. Since it dates to the second quarter of the fourth century it supports the increase of references to the drinking of unmixed wine which are made at this time particularly evidenced in the characters of Menander's plays (also Alexis, 9 Kassel-Austin; 246 Kassel-Austin; Plat.192 Kassel-Austin; Antiphanes, 112-13; Pollux, 6.99).

Various heads and marble masks have been found on the Athenian Akropolis (Wrede, *supra* (1928):66-95; Akrop.657, Beil.21B,1,2, Boston 15). One of these is large bearded and moustached (Wrede, *supra* (1928): Beil.26). From representations on vases 'masks' it seems were hung on columns, around which a cloth was attached to resemble a himation (Wrede, *supra*(1928): 81,fig.1, p.83,fig.2, p.86,fig.3). In one instance two women flank the column in attitudes of dance or as if making offering to the image, the deity is most likely to have been Dionysos in these instances (Wrede, *supra* (1928):83, fig.2, and 86, fig.3, where the thyrsos is present, and 81,fig.1, the *maenad* is dancing wearing a leopard skin). On Apulian vases the 'masks' of Dionysos were positioned on the handles of the vases but also were placed just above the main picture, with much variation in the frieze into which it was positioned (Schauenburg, *supra* (1997):87-99). Archaic terracotta masks of Dionysos have been found in Boeotian graves (Wrede, *supra* (1928):90, who lists, for example, Ath, NM.19 206 (Beil.27,23), Ath. Mus.10 401 (Beil.27,4,5)). The masks have button curls and horizontal cut facial hair. Thus the "face" (πρόσωπον) seen by Pausanias may have been a mask of Dionysos (cf. Paus.2.2.6) or possibly a Satyr, since when Dionysos marched into the East, his army consisted of men and women, Pan, Silenoi and the Satyrs and Pausanias mentions that Akratos was one of Dionysos' attendants, possibly implying that Akratos and so the mask he saw, was a Satyr (for instance Altar from the Theatre of Dionysos; *Plate 12, bottom middle and right*). The procession was mimicked in the Dionysia festival at Athens (Latacz, *supra* (1993):45,fig.2; Athen.12.60.21; Suda, sv. ὀσκοφορεῖν; cf. Pochmarski, *supra* (1990); the François Vase heralds the first appearance of Maenads with Satyrs).

Pausanias is our only literary source for there being an image of Akratos, although there are a number of literary references which acknowledge the supposed existence of the god. Akratos was worshipped at Mounychia while at Phigalia in Arkadia Dionysos was worshipped under the title Akratophoros (Polemo, preserved by Athen.2.39c; also Akratopotes in Meirus: Papahadzis, (1974):161; Ar.*Ach*.1229).

2.5 Building with agalmata of clay

Bibliography: R.V.Nicholls, *Hesp.* 39 (1970):145ff; P.Danner, *Griechische Akrotere der archaischen und klassischen Zeit*, Rome (1989), Arafat, (1996):50-57.

Commentary: The word used by Pausanias for the building is οἶκημα, therefore this may not be a specifically religious building. It would be unusual to have terracotta images as the main statues inside (as Jones translates (1992):13), and since the building may not have held a primary religious function, the clay *agalmata* were probably external decoration. Terracotta was frequently used for acroteria, and Pausanias comments on this elsewhere employing the word *agalmata* for acroteria, for instance on the Basileios Stoa (Paus.1.3.1; Nicholls, *supra* (1970):115f). Pausanias is interested in the use of different media for building materials and statuary (Arafat, (1996):50-57; cf. Danner, *supra* (1989); see *Introduction s.v. Terminology*). It is therefore very likely that the images Pausanias describes were in fact the acroteria of the building.

Pausanias describes the image of Amphiktyon as giving a feast to Dionysos and the other gods. Pegasos from Eleutherai was also there (schol. *Ar.Ach.*243). Amphiktyon was attributed with having been taught how to mix wine with water by Dionysos, which would explain why he throws the party (Philoch. in *Athenaios* 2.38c). Pausanias records the fact that an old wooden image of Dionysos had been brought to Athens, from Eleutherai (Paus.1.38.8). Pegasos was, according to one tradition, believed to have introduced Dionysos to Athens.

3.1 Stoa Basileios

Bibliography: Wachsmuth, (1874): 344-52; H.A.Thompson, "Buildings on the west side of the Agora," *Hesp.* 6 (1937): 64ff; E.Schweigert, *Hesp.* 9 (1940):338f; S.Dow, "Greek Inscriptions. The Athenian Law Code of 411-401BC," *Hesp.* 10 (1941):31-37; Kahrstedt, "Zeus Stoa und Königsstoa," *AA* (1941):92; E.Vanderpool, "Roads at the north-west corner of the Athenian Agora: Investigations at No.7 Hadrian Street," *Hesp.* 28 (1959):291; J.H.Oliver, *Demokratia, the Gods and the Free World*, Baltimore (1960):105-106; A.E.Raubitschek, "Demokratia," *Hesp.* 31 (1962):238-43; F.W.Hamdorf, *Griechische Kultpersonifikation der vorhellenistischen Zeit*, (1964):57; A.E.Raubitschek, "Demokratia," *Akten des 4. internat. Kongresses für gr. und lat. Epigraphik* (1964): 332-337; E.B.French, *A.R.* 40 (1993-94):5; R.V.Nicholls, "Architectural Terracotta Sculpture from the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 39 (1970):, 115-38; T.L.Shear, "The Stoa Basileios in the Athenian Agora", *Αναλεκτα* 3 (1970): 297-300; R.Stroud, *Hesp.* 40 (1971):285; Travlos (1971):537; Shear, Jr., (1971):243-55; S.V.Tracy, *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason*, *Hesp. Suppl.* 25 (1975):174-79; M.Gigante, *Nomos basileios*, New York (1977);

J.N.Davie, "Theseus the King in 5th century Athens", *Greece and Rome* 29 (1982):25-33; O.Palagia, "A Colossal Statue of a Personification from the Agora of Athens," *Hesp.* 51 (1982):98, pl.29-36; R.Drews, *Basileus: the evidence for kingship in geometric Greece*, Yale (1983):11, 86-94, 96, 98-115; O.Alexandri-Tzahou, s.v. Demokratia, *LIMC* (1986):372-74; J.Neils, *The Youthful Deeds of Theseus*, Rome (1987); C.Calame, *Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien: légende et culte en Grèce antique*, Lausanne (1990):434; Camp, (1992):pl.78; Olga Palagia, "No Demokratia", in Coulson, Palagia, et al. (1994):113-122; Shear, Jr. (1994):224-48; Camp, *CAH* Plates to vols.V/VI, 114.

Commentary: Pausanias was entering the Agora from the north-west side (see *Index s.v. Kerameikos*, for Pausanias' use of the word in referring to the Greek Agora area). For many years, before the small stoa on the north-west end of the Agora had been discovered (*Plate 13, top; Plate 14, top*), it was considered that the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was also the Basileios Stoa; scholars complained of Pausanias's unclear style which thus provided reason for the attribution (Travlos, (1971):537, until the new evidence was uncovered, believed this to have been the case, cf. the addendum to his book p.580; Kahrstedt, *supra* (1941):92; Wachsmuth, (1874):344-52; Thompson, *supra* (1937):64ff; Vanderpool, *supra* (1959):291). The evidence however had been there all the time in Pausanias' account, seemingly overlooked or misinterpreted, in the attempt to explain his route since nothing had been excavated. Harpokration (s.v. βασιλείος στοά) states that there were two stoas one beside the other: the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa and the Basileios Stoa (also the Suda s.v. βασιλείος). Eustathius (on *Od.i* 395) describes the Basileios Stoa as being *near* (πλησίον) the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa. There is a clear tradition that the names of the two stoas were distinct. It is true that Hesychios (s.v. βασιλείος στοά) had conflated the two names of the stoas, mistakenly believing that 'Basileios' was an epithet of Zeus: "There are two stoas named Basileios at Athens, one is of Zeus called Basileios and the other of Zeus Eleutherios," But even Hesychios makes it clear that there were two stoas: δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησι βασιλείοι στοαί.

The positive identification of the Basileios Stoa came from inscriptions found *in situ* on the front steps of the Stoa. They are bases which have cuttings on the top to receive Herm shafts, many of which have also been found between the two projecting wings of the small Stoa, dating from the 4th century through to the Antonine period. The inscribed bases record dedications of Herms by individuals who had been Archon Basileios, therefore it is more than likely that the stoa they rest in front of is the Stoa Basileios. (*Plate 14, middle; Agora I* 7168: "Onesippos, the son of Aitias, of the deme of Kephisia, the Basileios, set this up," earlier than 400; records winning playwrights and producers during the period 405-380 and since at least one of these was a resident alien,

then the festival they had participated in had probably been the Epilenaia; Camp, (1990):85, fig.45; Agora I 7185: "Exekestides, the son of Nikokrates, of the deme of Alopeke, having been (Archon) Basileus, set this up;" date: c.300 (*Plate 14, bottom right*; Shear, Jr., (1971): 243-55; Shear, Jr., (1970): 297-300).

The Basileios Stoa is small, measuring only 17.72m by 7.18m (interior 16.63m by 6.02). It was built on the bank of the Eridanos river. The polygonal euthynteria rests on a rubble foundation which is set on a fill to raise the level near the centre of the building (French, *supra* (1993-94):5). No building has been found beneath the Stoa, although an 11th-century, sub-Mycenean grave was found beneath the south end. At the southern end was a polygonal limestone wall, which, combined with the use of the mediocre stone for the foundations and building, and with the design of the capitals which have 16 rather than the usual 20 flutes of Doric columns, suggest a date in the last quarter of the 6th century. Pottery from the foundations to the north, however, included drinking cups and kraters dating to the second and third quarters of the fifth century (the public dining cups are similar to those published by Tracy, *supra*(1975); cf. French, *supra* (1993-94):7). Also the pottery found in front of the stoa, which is believed to have remained at this level for forty years after the stoa had been built, dates to the second quarter of the fifth century (French, *supra* (1993-94):7). At the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries flanking wings each with three columns in front were added and inscriptions were placed in between the columns there as indicated by mounts for the insertion of a number of inscribed stelai (*Plate 14, bottom left*; Camp, *supra* CAH Plates to Vols V/VI: 114). The stelai would have been protected from the rain and yet would still have been able to be read. Fragments of a copy of Draco's law on Homicide (see below), which was to have been set up "in front of the Basileios Stoa", may have fitted into such a slot cut in between columns on one of the flanking wings. It has been suggested that on the back wall, marble facing may have been applied on which the main law may have been written (Camp (1992):82-83). In front of the building, to the north and south, were rows of stone steps.

The Basileios Stoa had eight outer Doric columns extending from one end wall to the other and four dark interior columns of 16 flutes. The building seems to have suffered some fire damage, judging from the remains of columns which have red patches. and the attempt made in antiquity to mend them which was then covered with a layer of stucco (*Plate 15, top*; shown to me by Professor Shear Jr. in the Summer of '97).

The frieze of the Stoa consisted of a series of alternating marble metopes and tan light-weight Aeginetan poros triglyphs, corresponding to each column and intercolumniation. Channelling on the side of the triglyph indicates the presence of a

metope which had probably been made of marble (*Plate 15, middle*). A few fragments of terracotta tiles from the roof and raking *sima* were found before the stoa itself was discovered (Nicholls, *supra* (1970):115-138).

Poros foundations were found along the back wall, and still *in situ* at the north end poros supports for benches can be seen, which had probably been for the *paredroi*, the Basileus' advisors. These supports date to a repair made in the Classical period. The Basileus himself probably sat on a throne, of which a number of poros and marble examples have been found (*Plate 15, bottom*), but their context in regard to the Stoa Basileios is unknown.

The area to the north and along the west side of the Agora had been an important centre for the Athenians, in terms of politics, government and law (Shear, Jr., *supra* (1994):224-248). The Basileios Stoa was in effect a kind of civic treasury of ethics, morals and legal conduct. It was a place where transgressors of the Law were brought to preliminary trials (Pl.*Tht.*210d: νῦν μὲν οὖν ἀπαντητέον μοι εἰς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως στοὰν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Μελήτου γραφὴν ἣν με γέγραπται: "Now it is necessary for me to present myself at the Stoa Basileios to answer the indictment of Meletos, which he brought against me." It was also here that oaths were sworn (Pollux 8.86: ὤμνουσιν [οἱ ἄρχοντες] πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ, ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τόμια, φυλάξουσιν τοὺς νόμους: "The [archons] swore that they would guard the laws, at the Stoa Basileios, on the stone on which the entrails lay"). A large poros tan stone was found in front of the stoa, near the north wing. It measures 0.95m wide, by 2.95 long; its height is 0.40m. Most intriguing is the upper surface, which is worn by hundreds of years of use. Pseudo-Aristotle mentions that in front of the stoa is ὁ λίθος, which may in fact be this huge stone. The oaths then may have been sworn on this very *lithos*.

This building was also used for dining, as the presence of cups, amphorae, pots and animal bones found in a well to the south of the stoa and in a pit to the west, indicate (Camp, (1992):105). They date to the 2nd and 3rd quarter of the 5th century. Some of these fine red-figure cups have a ligature of the letters ΔΕ inscribed on them indicating that they were state property (Δήμοσιον, i.e. of the people, belonging to the Demos). There is also a reference in literature which states that the Stoa was used for dining: "Those from section beta, [shall follow to] the Basileios Stoa to dine" (Ar.*Eccl.*684-6: τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ βῆτ' ἐπὶ τὴν στοᾶν...τὴν βασιλείον δειπνήσοντας).

On the tiles of this stoa Pausanias saw terracotta images of Theseus throwing Skiron into the sea. These images are the *acroteria* (cf. Paus.1.2.5, see *Index s.v. Building with agalmata of clay*). Fragments of this clay group have been found in the Agora (Camp, (1990):82).=LIMC VII, s.v. Theseus no.121). Skiron abducted people,

made them wait on him (a foot basin is depicted in several vase paintings, *LIMC* VII, s.v. Theseus no.102 and no.104, probably used to wash Skiron's feet) and then disposed of them into the sea, where they were eaten by a large turtle (Pausanias provides the story, 1.44.8; see also Apollod. *Epist.*1.2; Hyg. *Fab.*38.4. cf. Plu. *Thes.*10, who says that the Megarian tradition makes him honourable and decent). Theseus attacked Skiron and his bones became the cliffs which were named after him (Hdt.2.69; Plin.*NH.* 2.47; Propert.3.14.12; Seneca *NQ.*5.17; Diod.4; Calame, *supra* (1990):434; Davie, *supra*(1982):25-33; Ov.*Met.*7.444ff; Strab.9.1.4). There are a number of representations of the attack of Theseus on Skiron (*LIMC* VII, s.v. Theseus, no. 99, 500-490; no.106, c.480/70; no.100, c.480/70).

Also shown on the roof according to Pausanias, was Eos carrying off Kephalos. This is a tale of the trial and test of love. Kephalos was the eponym of the Attic genos Kephalidai, hence his importance in Athens which explains the significance of his presence on the roof of the Basileios Stoa. He married Prokris, daughter of Erechtheus, king of Athens (a further explanation as to why he was on the roof of this important Stoa in Athens). Eos fell in love with him and carried him off (Hes.*Th.*986; *LIMC* III, 773 C.Weiss). Further fragments of terracotta sculpture were found in the Agora, believed to have come from the Basileios Stoa, including parts considered to have originally come from the Eos and Kephalos group. They have been dated to c.440/30 on stylistic grounds (T1261, 3317, 3987; Weiss, *LIMC* III, s.v. Eos, no.282; Thompson, *supra* (1937):37-39, 66-69, pl.25; Nicholls, *supra* (1970): 120-123; Shear,Jr., (1971):253; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):85; *LIMC* III, 747-789, C.Weiss).

There are a number of images roughly contemporary with the terracotta sculpture (*LIMC* III, s.v. Eos no.271-75, no.274, pl.578). In most representations of Eos carrying off Kephalos, Eos is shown running to the right, looking back to the left. She has wings and Kephalos is either a young boy or a young man which is possibly how the group on top of the Basileios Stoa was shown (*LIMC* III, s.v. Eos nos.267-282). The motif pre-dates the terracotta sculpture on the Basileios Stoa (*LIMC* III, s.v. Eos no.267, pl.577, 480/70; no.268, pl.577, 470; a red figured kylix by Douris, c.480: Mattusch, (1994):77, fig.6). Eos carrying off Kephalos was a theme worked in stone relief on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, the work of Bathykles of Magnesia, which Pausanias describes (Paus.3.18.9-19.5: Kephalos...who on account of his beauty was carried off by Day). The throne has been dated to the second half of the 6th century (*LIMC* III, s.v. Eos, no.276).

The archon Basileus carried out duties which a King would have originally overseen, for instance presiding over the mysteries, the Dionysia, Epilenaia, ancestral

sacrifices and torch races ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 57). In fact there had been a priest of the Basileus, as the inscription in the Theatre of Dionysos proves (*IG* II² 5037). He also supervised trials involving impiety and murder aided by *paredroi*. One of the most famous cases officiated over by a Basileus was the trial of Sokrates in 399 (*Pl. Tht.* 210d, as above). The importance of his role should not be overlooked. The fact that many laws of the city were set up in this stoa (see above), implies the importance attached to this facet of Athenian life ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 7.1: ἀναγράψαντες δὲ τοὺς νόμους εἰς τοὺς κύρβεις ἔστησαν ἐν τῇ στοᾷ τῇ βασιλείῳ; cf. various legal inscriptions which probably belonged to this stoa: Dow, *supra* (1941):31-37; *Hesp.* 4(1935):5-32). Drakon's Law of Homicide was set up in (or in front of) the Stoa Basileios (*IG* I³ 104, lines 4-8: "The law concerning homicide is to be inscribed, after they have received it from the secretary of the Boule for the Prytany, on a stone stele and placed in front of the Stoa Basileios;" date 410; cf. Gigante, *supra* (1977)). The very name "Basileios" was a reminder of their history: the first Kings and founders of the city, and how far they had progressed as a community, via tyranny to democracy (Drews, *supra* (1983):86-94).

Pausanias does not mention a statue of Demokratia standing near the Basileios stoa, but it is known that one stood somewhere in the Agora (cf. Paus. 1.3.3, painted image of Demokratia in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios). A decree records the setting up of an equestrian statue of Demetrios Poliorketes by the statue of Demokratia in the Agora (*EM* 12749; 306/5-301; Wycherley, (1957):no.696; Palagia, *supra* (1982):112). A copy of a decree was to be set up "beside Demokratia" (*IG* II² 1101, line 62; 106/5; Wycherley, (1957):no.248). Another inscription, found built into the church of St. Nicholas Blassarou (now demolished) near the Stoa Basileios, records that the Boule in the archonship of Nikokrates, dedicated a crowned Demokratia on account of the virtue and justice of the People (*IG* II² 2791=EM3913 (now lost): [Δη]μοκρατίᾱ/ [Ἡ Βουλὴ ἡ ἐπὶ] Νικοκράτους ἄρχοντος/ [ἀνέθηκ]εν στεφανωθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου/ [ἀρετ]ῆς ἕνεκα καὶ δικ[αι]οσύνῃς; Palagia, *supra* (1982):105; Raubitschek, *supra* (1962):238-43). What did the statue look like?

A large draped, headless female torso of Pentelic marble was found in a Byzantine house (S2370; *Plate 16, top right*; she now stands against column 18 of the Agora Museum; Camp, (1992):pl.78; Palagia, *supra* (1994):113-122, fig.1). Its present height is 1.54m, although its estimated restored height may have been c.2.95m, one and a half times life size (Palagia, *supra* (1982):98ff). She wears a sleeved chiton tied at the front by a thin cord girdle which crosses over at the back. A large *himation* is draped over her left shoulder. Stylistically the statue dates some time between 340 and 300. Conglomerate foundations of a pedestal measuring 2m by 2.75m were found aligned with

the axis of the Basileios Stoa about 1m west of this. They may be contemporary with the statue (c.350-25; Shear Jr., (1971):245, fig.1). A dowel hole on the top of the statue's left shoulder and a slightly larger one on her left forearm suggests that they were fixings for a metallic attribute, possibly a sceptre held in the crook of her arm and which rests on her left shoulder (Palagia, *supra* (1982):112). This large female statue (S2370) may have been Themis, Demokratia or some other personification of an idealised state concept, although such attributes are common to a number of female divinities (see Shapiro, (1993):216).

There is only one sure identification of Demokratia, which is seen in a coin series from Knidos, and bears the legend *Demokratia* (*LIMC* III, s.v. Demokratia, no.8). Unfortunately only her head is shown. The statue found in the Agora (S2370) may not be Demokratia at all, she may in fact be Agathe Tyche ('*Good Luck*'), since the surface of the stump of her left arm is very shiny, suggesting that it had been touched many times, i.e. for luck (Palagia, *supra* (1994):115, n.120; also n.1, where she compares the torso with reliefs). Sacrifice was made to Agathe Tyche in Gamelion in the same year that sacrifice was made to Demokratia (*IG* II²1496, ll.76, 107: [ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῇ Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ] παρὰ [ἱεροποιῶν]; Demokratia: ll.131-132, 140-142). Copies of a statue, similar in type, have been found in Egypt (for example from Saqqara, Cairo Mus. no.27464). The question remains open.

A large base with part of an inscription on it was found 1m east of the Stoa Basileios' conglomerate foundations, embedded into a Byzantine wall along with the large female torso S2370, above (*CIG* I 95; ([Δη]μ...or [Θε]μ...); Camp, (1992):pl.78; Palagia, *supra* (1994):113-122, female figure: fig.1). That the statue S2370 belonged to the base has been doubted (Palagia, *supra* (1994):115).

Demokratia was perceived as an individual entity at the end of the Peloponnesian War. The scholiast on Aischines (1.39) claimed that the thirty tyrants set up a monument on the tomb of Kritias, representing Oligarchia setting fire to Demokratia (Stroud, *supra* (1971):285). Such personification is also known before the middle of the fifth century, from the rock cut inscription of the sanctuary of the Nymphs and Demos in the garden of the Observatory (*LIMC* III, 375, O.Alexandri-Tzahou). A seat was set aside for the Priest of Demokratia, the Priest of Demos and the Charites, and the Priest of Ptolemy III Euergetes and Berenike (*IG* II² 5029a).

Sacrifices were offered by the strategoi to Demokratia (*IG* II² 1496, col.IV, lines 131-132, 140-142: [ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῇ Δημοκρατίᾳ] παρὰ [στρατηγῶν]). The sacrifices seem to have been made only for the two years: 332/1 and 331/0 (Hymettian marble; Oliver, *supra* (1960):105-106; Schwiebert, *supra* (1940):338-330). Another

inscription found near the Stoa Basileios refers to activities on Salamis and it records the statue of Demokratia (Agora I 7484, line 18; before 214/3; Tracy, *supra* (1975):174-78, no.1, pl.59; Palagia, *supra* (1982):112).

That there was a statue of Demokratia in the Agora is certain, but where it stood is another matter. It may have been located near the Demos and Graces shrine on the north side of the Agora, behind the Basileios Stoa (Raubitschek, *supra* (1962):238-43). But the three priest inscriptions of Demos, the Graces and Demokratia on a seat in the Theatre of Dionysos on which this argument is based, may not be enough to prove that the Demokratia was connected to the Demos and Graces shrine (Palagia, *supra* (1982):112). It is, however, possible that the Priest served more than one cult (as happened in the Roman period for the cults on the south slope of the Akropolis; Oikonomides, (1964): passim).

3.2 Konon and Timotheos, son of Konon and Evagoras

Bibliography: K.Spyridakis, *Evagoras I von Salamis* (1935); H.A.Thompson, "Buildings on the West Side of the Agora," *Hesp.* 6 (1937): 56ff, 68; G.Barbieri, *Conone*, Rome (1955); *SEG* 39, 63; K.Clinton, *AE* (1988):19-30; M.Walbank, "Greek Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 58 (1989):72-74.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the statues of Konon, Timotheos and Evagoras, as standing near (πλησίον) the stoa. Isokrates states that the bronze statue of Konon stood near that of Evagoras and both were set up near the Stoa of Zeus Soter as testimony of their friendship: ...τῆς φιλίας τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους... (Isokrat.*Evag.* (=9).57). Statues of Timotheos and his father are recorded as standing in the Agora by other sources (for instance Corn. Nep. *Timoth.*2, D.12 (Phil.)10; Aeschines 3,243 (*Timotheos*)).

Statue bases were found between the projecting wings of the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa, which may have held the statues described by Pausanias (*Plate 17*; see *Index s.v. Zeus Eleutherios*; Thompson, *supra*, (1937):56ff, 68). But since Pausanias mentions the statues after he has left the Basileios Stoa, and immediately before naming the image of Zeus Eleutherios and the stoa, the statues may in fact have stood near enough between the two stoas and the statue bases may have held other images. Also there is a description of the statues as standing near the Basileios Stoa (cf. Philostratos, *Vit.Apoll.* 4.20).

To have one's statue in the Athenian Agora was a great honour. It is clear that Konon, Evagoras and Timotheos were perceived by the Athenians as having deserved such an honour. Konon and Timotheos even had their statues set up on the Akropolis at Athens, which were also seen by Pausanias (Paus.1.24.3; cf. *IG* II² 3774: Κόνων Τιμ[ο]θέου. Τιμόθεος Κόνω[νος]; two blocks of Pentelic marble). On the north-west

slope of the Akropolis, a badly worn fragment of a Pentelic marble decree was found (Agora I 5520: κ[αλέσαι δὲ Εὐάγοραν καὶ Κόν]ω[ν]α; or if Evagoras had been honoured in a separate decree it may be restored: κ[αὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ δειπνον Κόν]ω[ν]α); here again Konon, and possibly Evagoras, are honoured. The inscription was found in a disturbed context over the north wall of the Klepsydra antechamber, and possibly dates to c.400-390. The deposit included material that may have come from the area of the Erechtheion in the course of repairs that were carried out during the Augustan era; the amount of wear on the surface indicates that it had been used as flooring for a number of years before it went into the Klepsydra (*SEG* 39, 63; Walbank, *supra* (1989):72-74, no.2, photo).

The reason for their receiving honour by the Athenians, is based on their military exploits in defence of Athens. Konon in 414 was admiral based at Naupaktos. In 407-405 he was in command of the fleet at the Hellespont and the Aegean. When he was defeated at Aigospotamoi he found refuge with Evagoras, King of Cyprus. At Knidos in 394 he wiped out the Spartan fleet (*X.Hell.*4,8,1-2). The Long Walls at Athens were completed by him. When he was in Sardis as a diplomat he was betrayed by a Persian and arrested. He probably escaped and died shortly afterwards (*C.Nepos, in Vita; Plut. in Lys. & Artax.*; for an alternative account of his death, namely that he was killed in Knidos, see *Diod.*xiv,84; cf. Barberi *supra* (1955)). Konon was in fact honoured by a number of Greek states. It has been suggested that it was because he had visited islands and cities and assured the inhabitants that they had nothing to fear (as *Diod.* xiv,84), the people of Erythrai promised to set up a statue of Konon in gilded bronze: *IG* II² 20, lines 4: [--c.7--]Κόνω[ν.], lines 8-9: [Ἀθη]ναίων Εὐαγόρ[αν στεφανοῖ ἀρετῆς ἔνεκ]/[εν τῆς ἐς Ἀθηναίου]ς...; 393/2; stone near the theatre of Dionysos; Hicks and Hill *GHI* (1901):175, no.89; found on a stele in a church at Erythrai (different inscription).

Timotheos was the pupil of Isokrates; in 378 he was elected στρατήγος, and in 375 he toured the north-west of Greece gaining many new members to the newly formed 'Second Athenian League'. He restored democratic exiles in Zakynthos, thus breaking truce with Sparta against whom he was in command in 373. Lack of money led him to serve with Persia against Egypt. In 366 he returned, and when Kallistratos fell he held power. The Social War was incited by his imperialist policy which had already driven Persia away from the League. In 356 he was asked to leave Athens by Chares, who along with Iphikrates were jointly in command at Embata. He was also fined 100 Talents (*Athen.*10.3; *Cic.Tusc.*5.35, *Off.*1.32; *Plut. in Syl.*, etc; *Ael.Vit.*2.10, 3.16, 12,43).

Evagoras, an Athenian, could trace his ancestors back to Teucer and the daughter of Kinyras according to Pausanias (*Paus.*1.3.2; his dates are approximated to c.435-

374/3). Teucer and his offspring were regarded as the traditional rulers of Salamis in Cyprus (Eur.*Hel.*91ff.; Hor.*carm.*1.7.27ff). After having tried to establish a Greek region on Cyprus with Athens, in 411, Evagoras became ruler of Salamis (Cyprus). He supported Persia, captured Tyre and controlled Phoenicia (although Evagoras had been exiled when Phoenicia controlled Salamis). Evagoras helped Konon win the victory over the Spartans, at Knidos in 394 as Pausanias mentions: Evagoras got the Phoenician ships given to Konon. These ships Evagoras acquired through working with the Phoenicians in order to provide the naval power needed for a victory over the Spartans (X.*Hell.*4.8.1-2). When the Persian War broke out in 390, Evagoras lost control of the sea and of Kition in 381, so he sought peace, but was assassinated in 374/3 (Spyridakis, *supra* (1935)). The proximity of this statue to the statue of Konon is explained by the fact that Konon had sought and obtained refuge with him, and is also testimony of their friendship.

3.2 Emperor Hadrian

Bibliography: Shear, (1933):178ff; A.E.Raubitschek, "Hadrian as the son of Zeus Eleutherios," *Hesp* 49 (1945):128-133; Harrison, (1953):731, no.56; S.Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, Oxford (1971):141ff; A.Chariotis, in J.Assmann and T.Sundermeier, *Studien zum Verstehen fremder Religionen I, Das Fest und das Heilige*, (Gütersloh,1991):123-145; Thompson, (1987):14; Arafat, (1996):120, 166-67.

Commentary: Pausanias describes a statue of Hadrian standing near the Zeus Eleutherios image. A torso of a male wearing a decorated breast-plate was found near the north-east corner of the Metroon, being used as a cover stone for the Great Drain (*Plate 16, top left*; Shear, (1933):178ff, esp.183; Harrison, *supra* (1953):73, no.56; Thompson, (1987):14, pl.IIIa; Arafat, (1996):166-67). On the breast-plate are depicted Romulus and Remus being suckled by the wolf, suggesting Rome, while Athena, with an owl on one side and a snake on the other provides the iconographical link with Athens (*Plate 16, bottom*). These images suggest that the man represented was Roman, most likely a member of the Imperial family, most likely Hadrian rather than any other emperor, owing to his partiality and affection for the city of Athens. Athens honoured him by creating a priest for his cult (Hadrian Eleutherios; seat reserved for the priest of Hadrian Eleutherios in the Theatre of Dionysos: *IG II² 5035*: 'Ιερέως/ 'Αδριανού/ 'Ελευθερέως//; end of the 2nd, beginning of the 3rd century; possibly the restoration should be alpha iota rather than the epsilon since it dates to post-Hadrianic times, therefore: 'Ελευθεραίως.

It was common in the Hellenistic and Roman periods for aspects of foreign cults (as well as the celebration of historical events) to be incorporated into religious festivals, as was the case with Zeus Eleutherios and Soter (Chariotis, *supra*(1991):123-145). The

origin of the link with Roman leaders is traced back to Julius Caesar, who was the first to have the title "Liberator" applied to him, although kings and benefactors had never before received such a title, either in Latin or Greek. Juppiter was Liber and Libertas, an embodiment of Freedom, but it was Julius Caesar who was first honoured as "The One who Liberates." A cult of *Eleutheria* was instituted in a number of Greek cities after Caesar had freed them (Weinstock, *supra* (1971):141, nn.3,4). Soter and Eleutherios are different, but both terms were used to describe the cult of Zeus in the Agora, see below. After an act of liberation Antigonos and his son Demetrios Poliorketes had been given the title Soter (Diod.20.46.2; cf. the festival of Soteria at Priene, Weinstock, *supra* (1971):143, n.6). Also Flaminius who in 196, announced Corinth's freedom was given the title "Soter" (Plu. *Flam.*12.11). Cicero tried to attach the title Liberator to Brutus and Cassius after the murder of Julius Caesar (Weinstock, *supra* (1971):143, n.9; their bronze images had been set up next to the tyrannicides, Dio. 47.20.4, a rare honour indeed).

From inscriptions it is known that Augustus later became identified with Zeus Eleutherios in Egypt, and it is here with Augustus that the earliest evidence can be found of an emperor being associated with Zeus Eleutherios (Weinstock, *supra* (1971):144, n.1). Nero encouraged his identification with Juppiter Liberator, which in Greece was comparative with the cult of Zeus Eleutherios. This was probably a conscious attempt on his part to link himself with the 'glorious' memory of Augustus who had been worshipped under that title. Nero announced freedom in Greece and was duly given the title there of Zeus Eleutherios (*ILS* 8794; for numismatic evidence: Weinstock, *supra* (1971):144). (Raubitschek, *supra*(1945):128-133). Other emperors were honoured with the title Eleutherios, not just in Athens, but all over the Mediterranean (*SEG* 41 (1991):316, Ζανι Ελευ/θερίοι Ἀν/-τωνίνοι / Σωτήρι; Sparta Mus. ΜΣ 7578; Antoninus Pius as Zeus Eleutherios, from Sparta; E.Kourinou-Pikoula, *Horos* 8-9 (1990-1):94-95, no.2. Antoninus Pius:137-161AD).

3.2 Zeus Eleutherios

Bibliography: K.A.Neugebauer, *Jdl* 49 (1934):162f; H.A.Thompson, "Zeus Stoa," *Hesp.* 6 (1937):5ff, 56ff, 255ff; R.Martin, *BCH* 66-67 (1942-43):274-98; R.E.Wycherley, *JHS* 68 (1943):152-55; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.*21 (1952): 374, no.25; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 26 (1957):55; A.Benjamin and A.E.Raubitschek, "Arae Augusta," *Hesp.* 28 (1959):75-85; E.B.Harrison, "The Date of the Nikai from the Stoa of Zeus in Athens," *AJA* 65 (1961):190; Stuart-Jones^{rev}, (1966):35.128; H.A.Thompson, "The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 35 (1966):176ff; A.Molle, *Étude de l'iconographie de Thésée en relation avec la politique*

de Cimon (1968); W.Binder, *Der Roma-Augustus Monopteros auf der Akropolis in Athen und sein typologischer Ort*, diss. Stuttgart, (1969); *passim*; T.L.Shear, Jr. *Analekta* 3 (1970):297-300; Shear, Jr., (1971):276ff; J.Traill, "Greek Inscriptions honouring Prytaneis," *Hesp* 40 (1971):308; Thompson, (1972):100; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):96-99, pl.51-52; T.Hölscher, *Griechische Historienbilder*, Würzburg (1973):116ff; A.Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere*, Tübingen (1974):124; D.Musti, *Storia e civiltà dei Greci*, 6, Milan (1978):528,n.9; R.Vasic "Some observations on Euphranor's Cavalry Battle" *AJA* 83 (1979):345-9; R.Vasic, "Gryllos and Epaminondas in Euphranor's Cavalry battle" *Ziva Antika* 29 (1979): 261-8; Palagia, (1980):50ff (chapt. 8); J.Boardman, "Herakles, Theseus and the Amazons," *The Eye of Greece, Festschrift for M.Robertson*, (1982):1-28; C.R.Long, *The Twelve Gods of Greece and Rome*, Leiden, New York (1987):66-68; L.M.Godberg, "The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora: A Revised View", *Hesp.* 61 (1992):447-89; K.Schefold, "Theseus, Aspects of the Hero in Kimonian Athens: The Iconography of Empire," *Med., Hist. Review* 7 (1992):29-49; M.C.Hoff, "The So-called Agoranomion n Julio-Claudian Athens," *AA* (1994):93-117; W.R.Connor, "Theseus in Classical Athens", in *The Quest for Theseus*, ed. A.G.Ward, New York (1995):143-174.

Commentary: Pausanias describes a statue of Zeus Eleutherios, behind which is a stoa. The stoa next to the Basileios Stoa to the south, must be the Stoa Pausanias mentions. A circular statue base was found in between the two projecting wings of this stoa (*Plate 17*). This base may have supported the statue of Zeus Eleutherios which Pausanias saw. The restored diameter of the base measures 4.2m (Thompson, *supra* (1937):56ff, 68). The type of Zeus statue the Zeus Eleutherios Pausanias saw in the Agora of Athena was is "completely unknown" (*LIMC* VIII, 335, M.Tiverios).

Beneath the Stoa a soft yellow poros foundation of an earlier building lay in a slightly different direction. It was cut into and removed when the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa was built (Thompson, *supra* (1937):8ff). Remains of an early altar, which may have been connected with this earlier building were found to the east (*plate 17, bottom*). Later, after the Persians invaded, potters and other artisans occupied this area, which may explain the presence of the horoi which were probably set up in order to clear the artisans away prior to building the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa in the mid 5th century (Agora I 2483:[hópos] Διός ἐλευθερίου; mid 5th century; Meritt, *supra* (1952): 374, no.25; cf. Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):96, no.78).

The Classical Stoa itself was built about 430 and possibly completed c.421 after the Peace (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):100). The statue of Zeus Eleutherios may also then have been dedicated to commemorate the final conclusion of the Persian wars

(*LIMC* VIII, s.v. Zeus no.130). As Didymos is reported to have believed, it seems more likely that the Athenians would have established a cult in celebration of their freedom from the Persian oppression (Harpokrat. s.v. *Eleutherios*: Eleutherios was so named because the Athenians had freed themselves from the Medes). In the same vein, at least one shield is known to have been dedicated in the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa by a *hero* from the war against the Gauls (Paus.10.21.5-6: Kydias' shield, who died in battle against the Gauls). The shield, along with others in the stoa, Pausanias reports were taken from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios by Sulla when he went through Athens; cf also Paus.1.26.2, the shield of Leokritos was dedicated in the stoa also, when he had fallen in battle; also 10.21.5-6; Menan. *Phosph.* fr.459 (Körte).

The Stoa had two projecting gabled wings at either end of the main body of the stoa, with steps leading to the entrance, in principle like the Propylaia of the Akropolis. Pentelic and dark Hymettian marble were used in the steps. All that remains *in situ* of this stoa is the lowest step of grey marble on the south side. The railway track laid in 1891 destroyed the north end of the Stoa (*Plate 17, top*, indicated by the dotted line). All columns were of Pentelic marble, the outer columns Doric, the inner ones were without fluting (for instance A3925, found to the north of the Stoa; *Plate 18, top left*). A series of triglyphs made of light-weight Aeginetan poros flanked Pentelic metopes. There was no sculpted frieze. A block of the frieze, A3924, was found in Byzantine foundations to the north of the Stoa in 1970 (Shear, Jr., (1971):276ff). Surmounting the stoa were Nikai dating to the end of the 5th, beginning of the 4th century, although acroteria are an unusual feature to have on stoas (Camp (1990):214; cf. *Index s.v. Basileios Stoa*; and s.v. *Building with agalmata of clay*). That the building had acroteria is surmised from the Pentelic fragments of such sculpture found close to the stoa which have suffered heavy weathering, suggesting an exposed position: S312 (*Plate 18, top right*, now at the east end of the Stoa of Attalos), 373, 795a, 2335, 2336, 2337 (Thompson, *supra* (1937):54, 37-39, 66-68, pl.34; Delivorrias, *supra* (1971):124ff, 160). The Nikai motif promotes the concept of victory and the bringing of 'Freedom', in line with the deity to whom the building was sacred. The floor in the Roman period was made up of marble slabs, in contrast to the original flooring which is believed to have been of clay (Thompson, *supra* (1966):176ff). Stone benches ran round the interior (Shear Jr., (1971):276ff.; see *Index s.v. Basileios Stoa*).

Two rooms were added in the Roman period, behind the stoa, to accommodate which the rock had to be sliced away, and columns possibly added in the back wall of the existing stoa which had been removed to allow access (*Plate 19 top and middle*; Thompson, *supra* (1966):171-87). It is possible that one or both of the added smaller

rooms, housed the official cult of the Augustan household, and later the continuation of the Imperial cult embodied in the title 'Eleutherios' (Hoff, *supra* (1994):110; Benjamin and Raubitschek, *supra* (1959):75-85, see *Index s.v. Hadrian*). A small base bearing a dedicatory inscription was found in the southern room which also housed other statues. It was set up for a Roman as indicated by the use of the word υἱός which was used by the Romans for *filius*, whereas the Greeks used the genitive of their father's name (Thompson, *supra* (1966):181). Members of the Roman Imperial Family were honoured and worshipped all over the Agora (Hoff, *supra* (1994):110-14). Worship is first attested in the beginning of the second century when sacrifices to the Demos of the Romans are recorded (Traill, *supra* (1971):308, no.9). The first known structure to be built specifically for the Imperial cult was the small Monopteros on the Akropolis sacred to Roma and Augustus (W.Binder, *supra* (1969):passim). The first priesthood of Roma is recorded in 102/101 (*IG II² 2336*; also *IG II² 5114*, seat in the Theatre of Dionysos: "Priest of the goddess Roma and of Augustus Caesar"; *IG II² 5047*: seat for the "Priest of Demos, the Charites and Roma").

Zeus in his guise of Liberator and Saviour was given two separate, yet apparently interchangeable epithets: Eleutherios and Soter. Both names were used, since Zeus Soter was the same as Zeus Eleutherios (Schol.Ar.*Plut.* 1175, ...τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνιοι ἐλευθέριον φασι: They say that he (Zeus Soter) and (Zeus) Eleutherios are the same"; similarly Hesych. s.v. *Eleutherios*: ...τοῦτον [Ἐλευθέριον Δία] δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Σωτήρα φασι: "...that he (Zeus Eleutherios) and (Zeus) Soter are the same"). But in the Classical period the Stoa was referred to in inscriptions as just the "Stoa of Zeus" (*IG II² 689*, ll.28-29 (272/1): [στήσαι πρὸς τῇ στοᾷ] τοῦ Διός; public decrees to be set up beside it; *IG II² 690*, ll.11-12 (c.272/1): πρὸς τῇ στοᾷ τῇ τοῦ Διός; Agora I 5559 line26 (246/5): [καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Διός]). In contrast in literature the Stoa is called Zeus Eleutherios while the image could be called either "Soter" or "Eleutherios" ([*Plat.*] *Eryxias* 392a, "I happened to be taking a stroll in the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa"; X.*Oec.* 7,... Zeus Eleutherios; *IG II² 448* ll.69-70 (318/7): τῇ μὲν ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Σωτήρα: "one (inscription) to be set up on the Akropolis the other by the Zeus Soter"; Isokrat.9.(*Evagoras*) 57); *IG II² 1496*, lines 88-89, ἐκ τῆς θυσίας τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτήρι παρὰ Βωωνῶν; *IG II² 43*, ll.65-66 (378/7): καταθέ[τω] παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἐλευθέριον).

In the Roman period there is a record of a Priest to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (*IG II² 5063*: Ἱερέως Διὸς Σωτῆρος/ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Σωτείρας) while the Stoa of Zeus is referred to as that of Zeus Eleutherios (*IG II² 1075* line 17: [...πρὸ τῆς στοᾶς τοῦ Διὸς τὸ] Ἐλευθερίου καὶ πρὸ [τοῦ ἱεροῦ]; c.AD 117-138). Zeus Eleutherios had become

inextricably linked with the Roman Imperial cult in which the title Eleutherios was a favourite of the Emperors (see *Index s.v. Hadrian*), so the Stoa was always referred to under that title. It also explains why in the Roman period reference is made to the image of Zeus as "Zeus Soter", which clearly differentiated between the image and cult of the Emperor, as Eleutherios.

The Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios also contained pictures. Pausanias describes paintings of the Twelve Gods by Euphranor, also Theseus as the founder of democracy, with Demokratia and Demos, and the battle at Mantinea, in which Gryllos, for the Athenians, is shown engaging the Theban Epameinondas in the cavalry battle. Pliny also states that Euphranor painted a Cavalry engagement, the Twelve gods and Theseus and may have been referring to this painting in the Zeus Stoa (Plin. *NH*.35.129). Note also that Pausanias considered Euphranor to be both a painter and a sculptor, since he thought that Euphranor had been the sculptor of the image of Apollo Patroos (see *Index s.v. Apollo Patroos*). Pliny confused the dates of Euphranor, twice placing his *floruit* in 364-61. But his claim that he was the student of Aristeides, seems to refer to Aristeides the grandfather of the younger Aristeides, the former active c.400 (Stewart, (1990):287; Plin. *NH*.35.111, 128-29; 35.98). Since the Battle of Mantinea which Euphranor was supposed to have painted occurred in 362, it is likely that the dates assigned to him by Pliny support the assumption that he may have executed the painting shortly after the battle. Also his career seems to have extended down to at least 330 when he worked on the Apollo Patroos image and the portraits of the Macedonian kings (Plin. *NH*.34.77-78).

Euphranor was credited with writing a treatise on colour (Plin.*NH*.35.129), which is supported by the fact that his use of colour in Hera's hair was remarked upon in antiquity (Luc.*Imag*.7). The cult of the Twelve Gods included Zeus, Hera, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Demeter, Hestia (or Dionysos as Parthenon frieze), Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Ares, Hermes and Hephaistos (Palagia, (1980):55; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Zeus no.242= III, s.v. Dodekatheoi, no.9). It is impossible to know whether the Hera referred to by Lucian had been painted by Euphranor in the painting of the Twelve Gods in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Euphranor is also recorded as having painted an Hephaistos whose feet were singled out for praise (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 37.43). Again there is no way of telling without doubt whether or not this refers to his painting in the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (Palagia (1980):57). There had already been a cult to the Twelve gods in the Agora of Athens, before Euphranor came to paint the images of the gods in the Stoa of Zeus. The altar to these gods which stood on the north-east side of the Agora is identified by an inscription on a statue base still *in situ* (Long, *supra* (1987):66-68). Their cult was important in the ancient Agora (Martin, (1951):172f). A fragmentary fourth-century round base was found

in the Agora which has the Twelve Gods in relief (Ath.NM 1731). Although the altar dates to the same period, there seems to be no evidence to connect it to those painted by Euphranor, although there are three slightly later examples which separate the gods into individual groups, since assemblies of the gods were rare in the fourth century (Palagia, (1980):55). It was a tradition that Euphranor's inspiration for Zeus ran out after he had painted Poseidon (Val.Max.8.11,5-6) and that in the end he chanced upon a class reciting lines from the Iliad (I.528-530) which provided the stimulus he needed to paint the Zeus (Eustathius ad *Il.*1.529). Neugebauer's suggestion that the bronze Zeus of Dodona may have been of a type similar to Euphranor's Zeus is unfounded (Palagia, (1980):56; Neugebauer, *supra* (1934):162f).

The significance of the grouping of Theseus with Demos and Demokratia is to celebrate Theseus' role in the inception of democracy. This may have involved some interaction between him and the two personifications in the painting, although there does not appear to be any extant representations of the three together, unless he is to be restored in a relief of a decree of 337/6 (Agora I 6524, *Plate 19, bottom*; *LIMC* III, s.v. Demokratia, no.7 = *LIMC* s.v. Demos no.54; Palagia (1980):62-3, fig.43; Palagia, *supra* (1982): 106, pl.36:C). Demokratia is shown standing wearing a *himation*, a high girt peplos and her hair long, while her left hand rests on her hip and she holds a wreath in her right hand over Demos who is seated (images of Demokratia are discussed elsewhere, see *Index* s.v. *Basileios Stoa*). Theseus is attributed with uniting the communities of Attika into one state (the *Synoikismos*), with Athens as the controlling centre city (Eur.*Suppl.*403-2, is the earliest reference, c.422; Connor, *supra* (1995):, 42, 143-174; on the importance and exploitation by Kimon to aid his political career, see Molle, *supra* (1968); H.J.Walker, (1995):64f; Nilsson, (1972):51f; Schefold, *supra*(1992):29-49; Isokrat.12.129; [D.]59,75; [Arist.]*Ath.Pol.*41; Theophrast. *Char.*26.6; Plu.*Thes.*25; cf. Boardman, *supra*(1982):1-28). The painting Pausanias describes in the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa is the earliest known occurrence where the two state concepts of the People (Demos) and Democracy (Demokratia) are separated and a distinction made between them (*LIMC* III, 381, C.Weiss).

Euphranor was said to have described the Theseus he painted as having been fed on meat, while the Theseus of Parrhasios had only been fed on roses (Plin.*NH.*35.129: *Theseus, in quo dixit eundem apud Parrhasium rosa pastum esse, suum vero carne*; also Plut.*de glor.Athen.*2, tells the same story; cf. Plat.*Rep.* 1.338c). But there was also a tradition that Euphranor made bodies 'exilior' (Plin.*NH.*35.128, *exilior*; "...he painted limbs and heads too large, and the body too slim"). This is usually translated as "too slim" (as Stuart-Jones^{rev}(1966):35.128) which is in contrast to Euphranor's description of his

own work. Palagia ((1980):59-60) viewed Euphranor's own description as a comment on the overall impression created by his use of colour, which was in contrast to Parrhasios whose style was very linear. Not to deny that the impression created by Euphranor's palette provided a much more 'healthy-looking' Theseus, most likely it did, but the word used by Pliny: *exilior*, refers specifically to size. It is possible that Euphranor had retorted with the comparison of his Theseus with that of Parrhasios, in response to some criticism (or as Palagia suggests, possibly owing to Euphranor's awareness that he was dealing with the same subject as his predecessor). In fact it is known that Euphranor's Demos in Athens was addressed seemingly sarcastically in Homeric verse: "Demos of the brave Erechtheus *nourished by Athena*, daughter of Zeus" (Plut. *de glor.Athen.2*; *Il.2.547*; Palagia, (1980):57), which was probably a comment on Euphranor's remark rather than a judgement which inspired Euphranor to respond with the meat and roses comment.

Demos was identified as an individual entity before the middle of the 5th century (*IG I³ 1065*: *ἡερόν Νυμφ[ό]ν Δέμο*; cf. *LIMC* III, 375-83, Augé). There is a fragmentary inscription which bears a relief and the name of Demos (EM 2791). Only the legs remain on the relief which show that the male figure was standing and draped. Palagia, (1980):58, also points out that there are a number of other instances which are conjectural, and discusses reliefs, on one of which Demos' name is inscribed. His type is very similar to Hephaistos which was also introduced into Athens at more or less the same time, seen in a number of reliefs and statuettes (Palagia, (1980):58, n.325). A large marble altar (*IG II² 2798*) of 197/6 was dedicated to Aphrodite, leader of the Demos, and to the Charites, in the priesthood of Mikon, son of Euthykleides of Kephisia (Wycherley, (1957): no.130; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):159, 223). In the Augustan period Demos was combined with that of Roma (*IG II² 5047*, seat in the Theatre of Dionysos).

In the battle of Mantinea Pausanias describes Gryllos, son of Xenophon engaging Epameinondas the Theban in the cavalry battle (Paus.1.3.4). Pausanias later (9.15.5) describes Gryllos as killing Epameinondas (also Paus.8.9.8; 8.11.6). The painting was very spirited where the clash of battle and the courageous repulsion of the enemy were shown with rage and irate passion (Plut. *de glor. Athen.2*). The Alexander mosaic which may copy a painting of the later fourth century is the only example extant which can provide a possible idea as to how the battle of Mantinea may have looked. But the original of the Alexander mosaic was later than Euphranor's painting (Palagia, (1980):52,n.286; Alexander mosaic, Nap.NM.10020). In the fourth century warriors on horseback in a cavalry battle could be shown engaging other knights in a number of different poses, as the passage attributed to Nikias shows ([Demetrios], *de eloc.* 76): some are shown falling off their rearing horse, others attacking from their horse which

also rears, some are shown in the process of falling off their horses which are on their knees (also Palagia, (1980):53).

Mantineia, in south-east Arkadia, was at war with Tegea. In 364 Epameinondas attempted to sack Sparta by a surprise attack, but the victory was inconclusive. In 362, Epameinondas and the Thebans invaded the Peloponnese. Euphranor must have painted this shortly after it (Plut.*de glor.Ath.*2; X.*Hist.gr.*7.5.14-7; Diod.15.84). According to one tradition Gryllos fell in the cavalry battle and Epameinondas was killed in the main fight (D.L.2.54-6; Vasiç, *supra* (1979): 261-8). Pausanias is clear that Gryllos was shown killing Epameinondas, indeed he mentions it in two other instances in order to point out that the Athenians and Thebans held a different view of Epameinondas' death from the Spartans and Mantineans (Paus.8.11.6; 9.15.5). Why had Pausanias this opinion? The names of the participants in the battle may have been written on the Mantineia painting. Why then have such an apparently false attribution in such a prominent painting? It may indeed have been the desire to honour Xenophon, whose son Gryllos had died in the war (Palagia (1980):54). Pausanias describes Gryllos as wounding Epameinondas, which does not mean that the painter had wanted to show him killing Epameinondas outright, but the intention may have been to imply that the blow of Gryllos weakened Epameinondas to such an extent that it contributed to his death.

Were these paintings on boards or painted directly onto the plaster covering the walls? Palagia suggests that they had perhaps been "easel paintings" which had "escaped transfer to Rome," since there is some evidence to suggest that the paintings in both the Poikile Stoa and the Lesche at Delphi had been on removable boards (Palagia, (1980):50, see *Index s.v. Poikile Stoa*). One is tempted to agree with this in view of the fact that the rear of the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa in which these paintings were shown was altered to accommodate the Imperial cult in the two rooms which were added behind the Stoa before Pausanias visited Athens (see above). If the paintings had been on boards it would have made for a simple process of manoeuvrability, allowing the pictures to have been repositioned when the alteration had been completed. One question that remains, however, is why the paintings escaped being taken to Rome (Palagia, as above)? Since the building held the Imperial cult, this probably explains Roman respect for the paintings and the reason they were not removed, although this does not explain why Sulla did not take them with him before the Imperial cult even existed. It is possible that the boards may have been hidden, but it is impossible to know.

The arrangement of the paintings on the wall has been discussed by Palagia ((1980):50-51). Pausanias' description of the painting of Theseus being ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν, "on the wall opposite" probably refers to the wall on the opposite side to the

entrance to the Stoa, since technically *πέραν* refers to a point strictly 'opposite'. Pausanias had already mentioned the Twelve Gods first, which probably implies that he saw these as soon as he entered, in which case, they may have been on the flanking walls. The battle of Mantinea may also have been shown on this wall, possibly on the other side of the door which had been cut into the back wall to allow access to the Roman Imperial cult rooms which had been built at the rear of the Stoa (see above).

3.4 Apollo Patroos

Bibliography: Judeich, (1931):333-45; Shear, (1935):352-54; J.P.Shear, "Athenian Imperial Coinage," *Hesp.*5(1936):310, fig.17,1-7; H.A.Thompson, "Apollo Patroos," *Hesp.*6 (1937):77-115; Ferguson, "The Salaminioi of Heptaphylai and Sounion," *Hesp.*7 (1938):28-31; N.Kyparissis and H.A.Thompson "A Sanctuary of Zeus Phratrios Newly Found in Athens," *Hesp.*7 (1938):612-19; Lacroix, (1949):321; H.A.Thompson, "Excavations in the Athenian Agora:1951," *Hesp.*21 (1952):109-110; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 26(1957): 91, no.38; Wycherley (1957):50-53; Deubner, (1962):232-34; Oikonomides, (1964):56; S.Adam, (1966):94-97; Travlos, (1971):96, 573-75; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):137-149; Palagia, (1980):50ff; G.Dontas, *Ant.K.* 25 (1982):15ff; A.H.Borbein, rev. "Palagia: Euphranor" *Gnomon* 59 (1987):45ff; Boardman, (1988):156; C.W.Hedrick, "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens", *AJA* 92 (1988): 185-210; Camp, (1990):193, fig.39; Stewart, (1990) II, Plate.512; C.W.Hedrick, "Phratry Shrines of Attica and Athens," *Hesp* 60 (1991):256-59; H.Knell, "Der jüngere Tempel des Apollon Patroos auf der Athener Agora", *Jdl* 109 (1994):217-237; Townsend, (1995):87,n.85.

Commentary: Two temples have been discovered between the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios and the Metroon. One is very small, and seems to have been overlooked by Pausanias in his description of this area, which was sacred to both Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia. The larger Temple was sacred to Apollo Patroos (*Plate 20*) and seems to have been set up during Lykourgos' time, see below (338-326).

When the area was excavated an earlier temple than the two mentioned above, was found. It dates to the middle of the 6th century (Shear, (1935):352-54; Thompson, *supra* (1937):77-115). It seems to have survived intact until its destruction probably by the Persians in 479/80. South of the temple was a pit which had been used for the casting of bronze sculpture. Fragments of a mould indicate that it had once been used to cast a late archaic, mid 6th-century kouros type (Camp, (1992):139; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no.584, pl.227, Ath.Ag.S741). This bronze statue may have been an early cult image dedicated in the 6th-century temple and had possibly also been sacred to Apollo.

Above this 6th-century Temple large chunks of unworked limestone which form the foundations of a 4th-century Ionic temple were laid (*Plate 20*). On top of these foundations a layer of conglomerate was placed while Kara stone and Piraeus limestone were used in the walls (Townsend, (1995):81,n.49). Steps of blue-grey Hymettian marble led up to the entrance. The blocks were decorated on the front face along the bottom edge, like the Altar to Zeus Agoraios (Townsend, (1995):87,n.85). It had a rectangular cella, (interior measurements: 8.64m x 9.01m) and a pronaos, 4.89m deep (*Plate 21*; Knell, *supra* (1994):217-237). A small treasury was built onto the building's left hand side, behind, and later than, the Zeus and Athena Phratria Temple (*Plate 20, top* and *Plate 21, bottom*; see below). A Pentelic marble altar was found which bears an inscription indicating that it belonged to Apollo Patroos (*IG II² 4984*; cf. [Plut.] *vit. X orat.* 843f). During the fifth-century *horoi* were set up to indicate the boundaries of the Apollo Patroos sanctuary (Agora I 5569:[ἄρορ]/ [Ἀπ]ῶλ/- [λ]ῶνο/-ς Πατρ/-ῶιο//; Meritt, *supra* (1957): 91, no.38).

Pausanias remarks that there was a statue of Apollo by Euphranor in the *naos*, implying that it was the cult statue. Two poros blocks at the back wall of the *cella* are of adequate size to support a colossal statue (*Plate 20*; Dontas, *supra*(1982):15ff; Borbein, *supra* (1987):45ff). A colossal statue with fragments of a kithara which he would once have held in his left hand were found (*Plates 22-23*; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no.145; Agora Mus. S 2154; Stewart, (1990):179, pl.512). In height, it reaches 2.54m (Camp, (1990):159, fig.133; Thompson, *supra* (1934): 77-115, esp.107, fig.56; Stewart, (1990) II, pl.512). The statue wears a heavy *peplos* and a *himation* resembling the Hermes Kitharoidos type such as that seen on a vase painting from Phrygia, dating to the reign of Septimus Severus where Apollo's right leg is drawn back in the same way as the colossal Apollo (Vermeule, (1983):pl.31). The weight is on his left leg, while only the toes of his right foot touch the plinth (*Plate 23,top*; cf. Stewart, (1990):pl.836). The date ascribed to the statue, 340-330 on stylistic grounds is a little early for Euphranor (fl.364-1), but only just. The statue is, however, in keeping with the tradition that Euphranor worked in marble and made colossal statues (Plin.*NH*.35.128). Fragments of another lyre were found on the north side of the temple: these were of island marble and smaller in proportion to the statue, but it serves to indicate that the Kitharode type was connected with the cult of this temple. Coins from the Imperial period portray a statue of Apollo standing with its weight on one leg wearing heavy drapery. If they are copies of this Apollo statue then it is likely that this was in fact the cult image (Shear, *supra*(1936):310, fig.17,1-7; Lacroix, (1949):321). A small statuette S877 found south of the Temple of Hephaistos is also a copy of the large statue indicative that the type it copies was

important (ht. 0.29m; Camp, (1990):266; Thompson, *supra*(1937):79ff, pl.71a). Numerous copies of this statue were portrayed on marble reliefs found in Athens (*LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no.145a: NM 3917 pl.195, shortly after the original has been made 330; b: NM 1359; late fourth century; c:Akrop.2970, late fourth century; d: from Eretria, middle of the third century). Also a small 3rd-century statuette was found at Delphi (*LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no.145,e). The bronze Athena from the Piraeus may be an original of about 350 or a copy of about 100 (Piraeus Mus.). It has been attributed to Euphranor, or his school, due to the similarity in drapery of the colossal kitharode Apollo found in the Agora (Stewart, (1990):pl.511). Both mark the new *symmetria* which Euphranor brought about, to break away from the Polykleitan 'four-square' canon (Stewart, (1990):179, 288; Plin. *NH*.35.128-29). A marble copy of an Apollo was found at Tusculum (*LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon, no.146, pl.196). The type dates to 360-340. The drapery is styled as by the hand of Euphranor, particularly in the folds of material from the neck to the chest, and the details on the sandals. However, since the date is possibly a little early, Euphranor may have used this type as inspiration for his Patroos statue.

Apollo Patroos was the same as Apollo Pythios but was so called because the Athenians considered themselves descended from Ion, who settled in Attika, and so named Apollo 'Patroos', "Paternal" (Plat. *Euthy*.302c-d: Apollo (not Zeus) is our Patroos because we are of the Ionian race. Harpokrat.. s.v. 'Απόλλων Πατρῶιος ὁ Πύθιος: τὸν δὲ 'Απόλλωνα κοινῶς πατρῶιον τιμῶσιν 'Αθηναῖοι ἀπὸ 'Ιωνος: τούτου γὰρ οἰκίσαντος τὴν 'Αττικὴν, ὡς 'Αριστοτέλης φησί, τοὺς 'Αθηναίους 'Ιωνας κληθῆναι καὶ 'Απόλλωνα Πατρῶιον αὐτοῖς ὀνομασθῆναι; Hedrick, *supra*(1988):185-210). Other phratriai and families had their own cult of Apollo Patroos (*IG* II² 2602, [ὄ]ροι τεμένος / 'Απόλλωνος / Πατρῶιο 'Ελα/-σιδων; Ferguson, *supra* (1938):28-31: the Salaminioi sacrificed to Apollo Patroos; Travlos, (1971):96; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):139).

The cult was important to the Athenians and the god was used to recognise a certain point in a boy's life when he was taken to the Temple (D.57 (*Euboulides*).54: ἀλλὰ παιδίον ὄντα μ'εὐθέως ἦγον εἰς... 'Απόλλωνος Πατρῶιου..). The priest of the cult had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysos (*IG* II² 5061: ἱερέως/ 'Απόλλωνος/ Πατρ[ό]ι[ο]ς; cf. other mentions of the priest *IG* II² 3630, ll.4-6, found in the Asklepieion, 144AD; *IG* II² 3697, ll.8-9: ἱερεὺς/ Πατρῶιου 'Απόλλωνος also of Roman date). Dedications to Apollo Patroos have been found which date from the 4th century through to at least 3rd century AD, for example: *IG* II² 4557 (1st half of 4th century); *IG* II² 4973; later inscriptions: *IG* II² 3158, 1st-century AD dedication from a victor in the games; *IG* II² 3530 (AD 14); *IG* II² 3629; *IG* II² 4726, 1st century AD).

The foundations of a mid fourth-century temple sacred to Athena Phratria and Zeus Phratrios were found directly next to the main body of the Apollo temple (*Plates 20; 21 bottom; 24*). The foundations were of conglomerate, which supported a poros superstructure. At the back of the small cella was a long base on which statues of the deities must have stood. A small altar was found bearing their names (Agora I 3706, *Plates 24 bottom, 25 top*). A boundary stone of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria was found in the Agora near the Stoa of Attalos (*IG II² 4975=EM620, 4th century*). Another altar of the late 4th-century has been found: *SEG 41 (1991):183: [Διὸς/ Φρατρίου/ Ἀθηνᾶς/ Φροῦρίας//*. It is a rectangular Hymettian marble altar inscribed on all four sides; found *in situ* at Plateia Karamanou on Odos Athinas Kyparissis (Thompson, *supra*(1938):612-619, who believed it to be part of an unidentified phratry shrine near the road leading to the Acharnian Gate from the Agora; Travlos, (1971):573-75; Hedrick, *supra* (1991):256-59 suggests that it was located in the deme of Skambonidai). A porch was added in the mid 2nd century (shown in outline in Camp, (1990):76; *Plate 21, bottom*).

The festival of Apatouria, held in honour of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, was common to Athens and most Ionian cities in Asia Minor (Simon, (1980):215). This festival originally pre-dates the Ionian migration when Athenians went to Asia Minor, for instance Miletos. The festival was also sacred to Hephaistos (*FGrHist III B, 334 F2, from Harpokrat. sv. λαμπάς*). It was at this festival that all legitimate children were enrolled into the phratry (Deubner, (1962):232-34; cf. *Pl.Euthd.302c-d*: on Ionian ancestry and importance of Apollo Patroos).

3.4 Apollo by Leochares

Bibliography: B.Ashmole, "Demeter of Cnidus," *JHS* 71 (1951):13-28; G.Donnay, "La chronologie de Léochares" *Revue des Études anciennes* 61 (1959): 300-9; "Un sculpteur grec méconnu, Léochares"; R.Tölle, "Zum Apollon des Leochares" *JdI* 81 (1966): 142-72; C.C.Vermeule "From Halicarnassus to Alexandria in the Hellenistic Age. The Ares of Halicarnassus by Leochares", *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani*, Rome (1983-84) III, 783-8; C.W.Hedrick, "The Temple and Cult of Apollo Patroos in Athens," *AJA* 88 (1984):247-48; Pollitt, (1990):260; D.Peppas-Delmouzou "Artist's signatures A': Towards a more precise chronology of Leochares", *STELE*, 430-9.

Commentary: Also dedicated in front of the temple was a statue of Apollo by Leochares as remarked by Pausanias (Tölle, *supra* (1966): 142-72; Donnay, *supra* (1959): 300-9; Peppas-Delmouzou, *supra STELE*, 430-9). Leochares is known to have flourished in 372-

69 (Plin.NH.34.30) and was a rival of Skopas (Plin.NH.36.30-31). He is said by Pliny to have made an Apollo wearing a diadem (Plin.NH.34.79: *Apollinem diadematum...*; Camp, (1990):235). The bronze Apollo of Leochares is usually associated with the marble Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican (*Plate 25, bottom left*; Richter, (1970):Pl.784; Stewart, (1990):191, pl.573). Although it is likely that the statue is a copy of a Greek original, it has been thought that the Apollo Belvedere may be Roman, possibly dating to c.AD 150, suggested by the deep drilled hair and the style of his musculature. If it is Roman, the Apollo Belvedere may at least reflect a type, if not *the* type, of Apollo seen by Pausanias, possibly an Apollo Pythios with gilded hair, arrow heads, quiver, sandals and a silver bow (Hedrick, *supra* (1984):247-48; Stewart, (1990):191, 283). The Apollo Belvedere has his weight in his right leg, he turns to his left, apparently aiming at something in the same direction, with a bow which he probably held in his left hand. The strap of his quiver rests lightly across his upper chest and middle to lower ribs, it does not seem to make any depression or mark on his body at all. His cloak is draped over his left arm, and is fastened across his shoulders leaving the rest of his body nude. He wears sandals.

There is a headless Apollo on the east frieze of the great altar at Pergamon, whose stance resembles that of the Belvedere Apollo (Stewart, (1990):212, pl.697). His cloak also is draped over his left arm which is held out. It has fallen off from around his shoulders now though and the quiver can be seen on his back. Again the strap does not make any impression on his body. A statuette in Arezzo and plaster fragments from the workshop in Baiae support the Classical tradition of this type of Apollo (Stewart, (1990):283). The body of the Apollo does not have developed muscles, which combined with the Baiae casts indicate that the type was adolescent.

3.4 Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis

Bibliography: F.Studniczka, *Kalamis: ein Beitrag zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig (1907); A.Amelung, "Der Meister des Apollon auf dem Omphalos und seine Schule," *Jdl.* 41 (1926):247ff; Thompson, (1937):1-222; V.H.Poulsen, *Myron, Acta archaeologica*, 11(1940):1ff. Lacroix,(1949): 245, n.1; J.Frel, "Un document nouveau sur l'Apollon de Kalamis", *Bulletin de l'institut Archéologique Bulgare* 21 (1957): 203-9; H. von Heintze, "Herakles Alexikakos," *RM* 72 (1965):14-40; W.M.Calder "Kalamis Atheniensis?" *GRBS* 15 (1974):271-7; Fontenrose, (1978): 329-30; S.Hornblower, *HSCP* 94 (1992):191-94; R.Brock, "Thucydides and the Athenian Purification of Delos", *Mnemosyne* (1996):321-327.

Commentary: The other statue Pausanias mentioned as standing outside, or perhaps in the *pronaos* of Apollo Patroos' temple, was one of Apollo Alexikakos. Pausanias claimed that Apollo received this name through an oracle at Delphi when he stopped the plague at Athens during the Peloponnesian War in 430. At this time the shrine of *Herakles Alexikakos* whose statue was made by Ageladas of Argos was founded in the deme of Melite where Herakles celebrated the Lesser Mysteries (von Heintze, *supra* (1965):14-40; Garland, (1992):131; Ageladas' oldest sculpture known was of an Olympian victor, Anochos of Tarentum, c.520: Schol. Ar. *ran.*501; cf. Plin.*NH.* 34,49,55,57).

The plague had indeed been rife in Athens, exacerbated by the cramped and overcrowded conditions which had been necessarily inflicted on the city. In order to save the lives of as many people as possible, people from outside the city entered and officially 'squatted' in temples and shrines (Th.2.17.1, all except the Akropolis and the Eleusinion). The cramped conditions did much to spread the plague among the people. The Athenians were probably led to consider the cause of the pestilence as stemming from the 'sacrilege' of inhabiting the houses of the gods and the improper performance of burial rites (Th.2.52.4, where it is also stressed how everything had been thrown into absolute confusion). Thucydides describes the method of burial adopted at that time: people threw their dead on top of other people's piled fires, even on top of ones which already had a body burning on it. Considering the importance placed on burial in the Greek world it was a shameful contrast, and it highlights the desperation. Hence the need to perform an act which the Athenians believed might reverse the disease and torment. Therefore in response to an oracle, Delos (Apollo's birthplace) was purified in 426/5: the dead were exhumed and re-buried on nearby Rheneia (Th.3.104.1-2; Fontenrose, (1978): 329-30; Brock, *supra* (1996):321-327, believes that it is unlikely that the oracle was used to justify purification of the island of Delos 426/5, but rather that it had been a result of recent consultations; cf. Hornblower, *supra* (1992):191-94; compare also the earlier purification of the island by Peisistratos, Hdt.1.64.2; Peisistratos' penchant for using oracles to implement policy: Hdt.5.90.2, 93.2, 7.6.3-4). Also a decree was made that no births or deaths should occur on Delos and the Athenians renewed the Delia festival in honour of Apollo and his sister Artemis. The date of the dedication of the statue must therefore have been after the plague in the 420's, if it is agreed that the image of Apollo Alexikakos was dedicated after the pestilence has passed. This poses problems regarding the authorship of the statue.

Two artists of different media are called Kalamis: one a silversmith (Plin.*NH.*33.155; 6.36) and the other a sculptor (Plin.*NH.*34.47; 34.71). The sculptor was possibly from Boiotia (Calder, *supra* (1974): 271-7) and was active in the second quarter

of the 5th century (Studniczka, *supra*(1907)) which is well before the plague of the 420's. It has been suggested that the Alexikakos, if made by this Kalamis, must therefore have been set up in response to an earlier plague (as Thompson, *supra* (1937):109), or that the Kalamis named was in fact a later Kalamis, or another sculptor was meant (Frel, *supra* (1957): 203-9, in Bulgarian with French summary). The problem lies in the fact that all extant references point to the well known sculptor being active c.475-450. In which case if he was responsible for making the Alexikakos to commemorate the plague in the 420's, then he would have had to have made the statue rather late in his career assuming that his lifespan reached the last teens of the fifth century. On the other hand, Kalamis the silverchaser, whose *floruit* was later (early to mid fourth century), was known to have made a bronze Apollo, which was to find itself in the gardens of Servilius (Plin.NH.36.36; from Nero, 47, on the *via Ostiensis*). Pausanias credits a Kalamis with having sculpted in bronze (Paus.5.25.5). Was this the same Kalamis who made the Alexikakos here in Athens? Musti suggests that Kalamis' statue was given the title *Alexikakos* after the plague (Musti and Beschi (1987):272). However, it is known that there was a younger Kalamis. This is evidenced from the fact that Praxias of Athens was a pupil of 'Kalamis' and since Praxias is known to have worked c.360-330, then Kalamis his teacher cannot have been the first mentioned Kalamis, for he was too early, but rather a later one, who was probably active from early to mid fourth century. This could have been Kalamis the silverchaser.

The Apollo Alexikakos statue may have represented a fighter (Stewart, (1990):288). It has been thought that the so-called "Omphalos Apollo" is a copy of the Alexikakos (*Plate 25, middle*; LIMC II, s.v. Apollon, no.622, 599 "Omphalos Apollo"; Ath.NM 45). It was one of several copies made in the 2nd century AD, after the 5th-century original; his hair lies in a plait across the top of his head while the rest falls around his face (other copies LIMC II, s.v. Apollon, no.599a "Choiseul-Gouffier, *Plate 25, lower right*; 599b-t; Athenian coins: Lacroix, (1949): 245,n.1; Ath. tetradr. new style series: ΔΙΟΦΑ-ΔΙΟΔΟ, and bronze money: Amelung, *supra* (1926):247ff; Poulsen, *supra*(1940):1ff). However, the Omphalos Apollo is clearly Early Classical, dating to the 460's which is too early for it to commemorate the Plague of the 420's (Ridgway, (1970):61ff; Stewart, (1990):146). Therefore it is probably not the statue of the Alexikakos, if indeed the Alexikakos had originally been set up to commemorate the great Plague, and was not just an epithet given to an existing statue after the plague (as Musti and Beschi (1987):272, see above).

3.5 Hieron to the Mother of the Gods: the Metroon

Bibliography: A von Salis, "Die Göttermutter des Agorakritos", *Jdl* 28 (1913):1-26; Judeich, (1931):342-45; Shear, (1935):350-52; H.A.Thompson, "Metroon-Bouleuterion," *Hesp.* 6 (1937):115-40, 172-217; A.A.Papayiannopoulos-Palaios, *Αρχαίαι Ελληνικά Επιγραφαί*, Athens (1939):76-77; M.J.Milne, "The use of Τορεύω and Related words," *AJA* 45 (1941):390-8; G.M.A.Richter, "A Greek Silver Phiale in the Metropolitan Museum," *AJA* 45 (1941):363-89; McDonald, (1943): 176; E.Buschor, *Phidias der Mensch*, Munich (1948); Lacroix, (1949):287ff, n.3; Wycherley, (1957):150-160; E.Will, "Aspects du culte et de la légende de la Grande Mère dans le monde grec" *Colloque de Strasbourg: Éléments orientaux dans la religion grecque ancienne*, 1958, Paris (1960):95-111, esp. 100; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, (1964):151; Oikonomides, (1964):74; G.Despinis, Συμβολή στήν μελέτη τοῦ ἔργου τοῦ Ἀγορακρίτου, Athens (1971):111ff; Travlos, (1971):352; Wycherley and Thompson, (1971):25, 37; B.Gavala, "Phidias, Leben, Werk und Bedeutung" *Altertum* 19 (1973): 207-21; Thompson and Wycherley, (1973): 207-21; T.H.Price, (1978):189-195; G.Cerri, "La madre degli Dei nell' Elena di Euripide: tragedia e rituale," *Quaderni di Storia* 18 (1983): 168-75; M.Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia*, Leiden (1983):151; K.M.Purdey, *Minor Healing Cults within Athens and Its Environs*, Thesis University of Southampton (1987):125; I.Loucas, Ἡ Ῥεᾶ-Κυβέλη καὶ οἱ γονιμικές λατρεῖες τῆς Φλώας, Athens (1988): 29-30; Camp, (1990):65; Pollitt (1990): 247-551; J.De la Genière, "Pausanias et le sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux d'Akriai, *CRAI* (1991): 257-65; K.Hitzl, *Olympische Forschungen: Bd. 19. Die kaiserzeitliche Statuenaustattung des Metroon*, Berlin (1991).

Commentary: Pausanias separates the *hieron* of the Mother of the Gods from the Bouleuterion, although there is cause to believe that before Pausanias' time the two buildings' functions overlapped. He claims that Pheidias worked in the Mother of the Gods *hieron*. It is interesting that Pausanias uses the word *hieron* which suggests more than just a temple (a *naos*), but rather some kind of complex. There can be no doubt which building Pausanias is describing here, the foundations make this clear. The complex of rooms forms part of the building next to the Apollo Patroos Temple which Pausanias has just mentioned (*Plates* 26, 27 *top*). The history of the complex is complicated, not least that in the early 6th century it was the assembly place of the Boule (see Musti and Beschi (1987):273); it is best to begin with the building Pausanias would have seen.

In c.140, the four room complex fronted on the east by a long Ionic colonnade was built. Its identity is assured from the presence of inscribed roof tiles, on the north,

east and south sides (McDonald, (1943):176; sacred to Mother of the Gods). Also a statue base was found there which bore an image of her priest, who had a seat reserved in the Theatre of Dionysos (*IG II² 5134: Μητρὸς Θεῶν*). Also a fragmentary plaque was found in the south-corner of the third room from the south (S922; *Plate 28, bottom left*). It reads: "Kriton, to the Mother of the Gods" (Papahadzis, (1974):185, fig.104, line drawing). On this plaque the Mother of the Gods is shown in a little shrine, with *phiale*, *tympanum*, lion and attendants.

The north room had two storeys and a central courtyard with an altar in the centre (*Plate 27, middle*). Since this room covers an older temple which had been destroyed by fire, probably in 480/79, it is likely that this may have been the main shrine in the four room complex. It served also as state archives. Behind this complex which dates to 140, is an archaic building. In shape it seems to have been a treasury and it dates to the late decade in the 6th century, c.500. At the end of the fifth century a building of almost the same type and plan was adjacent, this was the Bouleuterion (see *Index s.v. Bouleuterion*). Opposite, to the west are larger foundations which face east. They consist of poros orthostate blocks, and date to c.4th/3rd century, before the Hellenistic structure. It was the record office and Metroon. An earlier 20m square building of c.525-500 had once stood where this Hellenistic Metroon was built (*Plate 28, bottom right; cf. Camp, (1990):65* who thinks that the earlier building is early 5th century). This older building was referred to as both the Old Bouleuterion and as the Metroon (see *Index s.v. Bouleuterion*).

None of the records which were housed inside have survived since they were kept on perishable material like papyrus. When the New Bouleuterion was built (see *Index s.v. Bouleuterion*) the Old and New Bouleuteria were both used at the same time, and although the Old one's role was greatly reduced, it still retained its function as public record office, but now it seems to have been referred to as the Metroon (*IG II² 958, line 17:...εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν...; IG II² 2532, line 9:...εἰς τὸ Μητροῶν*). Just north of this Old Bouleuterion, stood a small archaic temple, which had been burnt by the Persians and was never rebuilt; it may have been dedicated to the Mother of the Gods, whose cult was then incorporated into the Old Bouleuterion.

Another area was sacred to the Mother of the Gods, as suggested by a horos of the Metroon cut into the rock on the slope of the Mouseion Hill, south of the road leading from the Akropolis past Hagios Demetrios (*SEG 41 (1991):121: [Ἡ]ερὸν/ Μητρὸς; c.350; found near IG I³ 1403; c.350*). It connects three inscriptions with the close rock cut thrones which formed part of the sanctuary of the Mother mentioned by Photios

(*Polemon* 3 (1948):94-96; Photios, s.v. Μητρῶιον; re-published by Papayannopoulos-Palaios, *supra* (1939):76-77, n.15; *SEG* 41 (1991):232; Lalonde, (1991):8, no.25).

The cult of the Mother Goddess in Greece probably originated in Anatolia (*LIMC* VII, 628-629, for mythology). The story probably eventually reached and was no doubt embellished in Greece. It seems that the cult of the Mother Goddess appeared in Athens only in the late fifth century (Cerri, *supra* (1983): 168-75). There was a festival held in her honour, the Galaxia (*IG* II² 1011, lines 13-14: ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς Γαλαξίῳ[ι]ς τῇ μητρὶ τῶν/ θεῶν καὶ ἀνέθηκεν φιάλην...; cf. Theophr.*charac.*21.11). Ephebes dedicated a φιάλη to her (*IG* II² 1006; *IG* II² 1009, lines 6-7: ἀνέθη[καν δὲ καὶ φιάλην τῇ τε] Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ κόρει καὶ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν,..., 1011; *IG* II² 1028, line 40: ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ φιάλην τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν...; *IG* II² 1030; *IG* II² 4595; 328/7).

The *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of Gods* also records that she was worshipped as the Mother of men (Hom.Hymn,14, εἰς Μήτηρα Θεῶν). Pheidias' image of the Mother of the Gods which Pausanias mentions does not survive (Gavala, *supra* (1973):207-21; Buschor, *supra*(1948)), but the statue is also attributed to Pheidias by Arrian, who describes her as seated with a cymbal in her hands and lions beneath her chair (*Periplus pont.euxin.*9). The *Homeric Hymn to the Mother of the Gods* (lines 3-5) also recounts an aspect of a celebration ritual held in her honour: "She likes the clamour of rattles, timbrels, sound of flutes, and the howling of wolves and fierce lions..." It is implied that this took place outside, from the fact that the hills and wooded groves echo with the noise (Rhea-Cybele in Euripides' *Helen*: Mother of the Gods and an ὀρεῖα ride on a chariot drawn by lions, *Helen* 1301-2; 1308-11; 1347, 1356; see Loucas, *supra* (1988): 29-30, on the fact that Rhea-Cybele is absent at Eleusis). This is in keeping with the iconography of her image as described by Arrian. These attributes are attested in other images of the Mother Goddess (*LIMC* VIII, s.v. Kybele, 34,35,36; Thompson and Wycherley, (1973): 207-21). The lions sit mostly on her right, and she holds a *phiale* in her right hand. In another votive offering she does not wear a polos, her hair is long and again she holds a *phiale* in her right hand (*LIMC* VIII, s.v. Kybele, no.32, Ath.NM.2767, dating to the middle of the 4th century).

Pheidias, son of Charmides of Athens, was active in the 5th century. Pliny gives his *floruit* as 448-445 (Plin. *NH.*35.49-52), although it is apparent from the style of works generally considered to have been by his hand, and the proposed dates for the dedication of a number of his works (particularly the Promachos and the Parthenos on the Akropolis of Athens), that he was active from about 447 to at least 438 (Stewart, (1990):257, 324). The attribution of this image of the Mother of the Gods to Pheidias has been disputed (Stewart, (1990):259, D25; von Salis, *supra* (1913):1-26; Despinis, *supra* (1971):111ff;

Camp, (1990):65, who claim that the one in Athens was by Agorakritos; cf. Paus.1.33.3, Lacroix, (1949):287ff, n.3). Inside the Old Bouleuterion was a shrine of Rhea, which the Athenians associated with the Mother of the Gods, so the image made by Pheidias could have been dedicated in the shrine of Rhea, even to Rhea herself, rather than specifically to her associated name of "Mother of the Gods", although in effect they were one and the same (Hes.*Th.* 467, the daughter of Ouranos and Gaia, wife of Kronos and Mother of Zeus and the Gods). The image of the Mother of the Gods was either by Pheidias himself or by his disciple Agorakritos ((Plin.*NH.*36.17; Gavalá, *supra* (1973): 207-21; Buschor, *supra* (1948); Pollitt, (1990): 247-551).

An altar of the Great Mother stood alongside that of Demeter, outside the *Naos* of Despoina in Lykosoura in Arkadia, whose image was similar in size to Pheidias' statue of the Mother of the Gods (Paus.8.37.2; *despoina* another name for Persephone, here, cf. *IG* 5² 514, from Lykosoura, Arkadia; also Pl.*Leg.*796b). Other representations of the Mother of the Gods were known, for instance on the Table of Kolotes at Olympia, where she was depicted alongside Hera, Zeus, Apollo and Artemis (Paus.5.20.1-3; Hitzl, *supra* (1991); cf. also Paus.8.30.4-5: next to the image of Apollo was an image of the Mother of the Gods, next to the *Naos* of the Mother; cf. Paus.3.22.4, worth seeing is a stone statue and *Naos* of the Mother of the Gods, and the people of Akrai say it is the oldest hieron of her in the Peloponnese, although the Magnesians have the oldest of all on the Rock of Koddinos; De la Genière, *supra* (1991): 257-65).

In Athens a stele which recorded conditions of the Eleusinian rites was inscribed with instructions that the stele itself was to be set up in front of the Metroon gives further evidence of the connection between Demeter and the Mother of the Gods (*LIMC* VII, s.v. Rhea no.19, pl.494= *Demeter* no.408). It records that it was to be inscribed next to an earlier law by Chairemonides on the stele in front of the Metroon (*IG* II² 140). Demeter was often viewed as though she was a Mother goddess herself (Varr.*rust.*3.14, "not without reason was the earth called both mother and Ceres").

A substantial revival in the cult of the Mother of the Gods occurred after the plague of 430-28 or 427-26. Statuettes of her were found in the Agora (Wycherley, (1972):31-35, n.32). A second Metroon was built just outside the city walls which had a reputation for healing, where patients would be cured through incubation (Tacheva-Hitova, *supra* (1983):151; Purdey, *supra* (1987):125).

3.5 Bouleuterion of the Five Hundred

Bibliography: H.A.Thompson, *Hesp.* Suppl. 4 (1940):8-15; McDonald, (1943):172, 286-87; Ehrenberg, (1960); Oikonomides, (1964):74; J.H.Oliver, "Marcus Aurelius, Aspects

of Civic and Cultural Policy in the East," *Hesp. Suppl.* 13 (1970); Travlos, (1971):191; G.Roux, "Aristophane, Xénophon, Le Pseudo-Démosthène et l'architecture du Bouleuterion d'Athènes," *BCH* 100 (1976):475ff; G.Kuhn, "Das Neue Bouleuterion von Athen," *AA* (1984):17-26; M.H.Hansen and F.Mitchel, "The Number of Ecclesiai in 4th century Athens", *SO* 59 (1984): 13-19; M.H.Hansen, "How often did the Athenian Ekklesia Meet? A reply", *GRBS* 28 (1987):35ff.; G.R.Stanton and P.J.Bicknell, "Voting in Tribal Groups" *GRBS* 28 (1987):51ff; Camp (1992):91; R.M.Errington's "Ἐκκλησίας κυρία in Athens", *Chiron* 24 (1994):135-60; S.Podes, "Ekklesiastikoi and Participation in Public Service in Classical Athens", *AJAH* 12 1987 [1995]: 167; P.J.Rhodes, "Ekklesia and the Schedule of Assemblies in Athens", *Chiron* 25 (1995): 187.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the Bouleuterion as being next to the Metroon (*Plate* 26). There were three phases to the building of the Bouleuterion. The first known as the **Primitive Bouleuterion** dates to the first half of 6th century from pottery found there. It measured only 6.70m x 15.00m overall which may have been too small to have been used as an assembly hall (Camp, (1990):66). It consisted of two rooms, of unequal size facing south on a courtyard, with possibly further rooms to the south (Thompson, *supra* (1940):8-15).

The second phase, built sometime after the third quarter of 6th century (Camp, (1992):91) was referred to as the **Old Bouleuterion**. It was square, measuring 23.80m x 23.30m, and had massive limestone foundations. It lay behind and partly beneath the foundations of the southern part of the Hellenistic colonnade. Since it had no internal divisions, it probably had central supports for the roof, which McDonald, (1943):286-7, believed stood in a Π shape. It may have held about 500 people or more (estimation in Camp, (1992):91, and plan Pl.31, allowing c.0.487m clearance for each seat; or 700 as estimated in McDonald, (1943):172). It is difficult to distinguish these foundations from those of the Hellenistic Metroon, which was laid directly on top of it. This Old Bouleuterion was built to house laws. At the same time the two projecting wings were built onto the Stoa Basileios which would also have housed laws (Shear Jr., (1971):243-55; Townsend, (1995):45). Thus the building policy reflects the legal environment at the time; since more space was needed to house stelai on which were written laws, this implies that more laws and amendments had been written.

The third phase of this building, which would have been seen by Pausanias, was built in the late 5th century and is known as the **New Bouleuterion** (*Plate* 29; Camp, (1990):62, fig.28). It was rectangular, measuring 22.50m north-south x 16.90m east-west, excluding the south Ionic porch which was added later (turn of the 4th/3rd centuries from pottery), built adjacent to the Old Bouleuterion. The area on which this new building

stood had to be cut almost completely from the soft rock of the Kolonos hill (*Plate 29, bottom*). It was faced with retaining walls on the south and west sides, which in effect allowed for an open square in front of the building (*Plate 29, middle*). This auditorium faced south and wooden supports held wooden seats. Later the auditorium of the *New Bouleuterion* was curved. The design resembles other buildings of the last quarter of the 5th century, which confirms the date and seems to indicate that it may have been built after the fire in the Tholos destroyed the Old Bouleuterion (see *Index s.v. Tholos*; Thompson, (1937):140-72, Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):31-34; Townsend, (1995):46; McDonald, (1943):175). An Ionic Propylon was added to the south in front of the New Bouleuterion in the second half of the 4th century (*Plate 30, top*; Camp (1990):51, fig.20a, plan 12; Thompson (1937):163-64, fig.97). Traces of a drinking fountain have been discovered in front of the Propylon. This Bouleuterion in turn was damaged by fire, although not destroyed, when Sulla ransacked Athens in 86. It was, however, destroyed in the 3rd century AD, by the Herulians.

The Old and New Bouleuteria stood side by side for a time, the Old Bouleuterion being referred to as the Metroon and housed the image of the Mother of the Gods (Camp, (1990):62). Its functions were limited but it retained its purpose as a public archive (see Oliver, *supra* (1970), who discusses the extent to which the building was used in Pausanias' time, and includes an analysis of the epigraphical record). Pausanias' interest in official buildings is not restricted to Athens, for instance he described the interior layout of the Phokian assembly hall (Paus.10.5.1-2). It is the only description known to come from a first hand witness of such a meeting place in the ancient corpora, which again illustrates Pausanias' deep-seated interest in civic buildings.

Pausanias mentions that the Five Hundred, the πεντακόσιοι, met in the Bouleuterion. They were made up of 50 men chosen by lot from citizens over the age of 30, from each of the ten tribes (*phylai*) of Attika. They were known collectively as the *Boule*. These 500 were a creation of the Kleisthenic reforms (Stanton and Bicknell, *supra* (1987):51ff). After Perikles the five hundred began to be paid, the starting rate was 5 obols a day. The *pentakosioi* met every day, except on festive and unlucky days. The *prytaneis* were made up of 50 of these members. The secretary, chairman of the *boule*, and assembly (*ekklesia*) met (Hansen, *supra* (1987):35ff). There has been a suggestion that there were three different types of prytany (Hansen and Mitchel, *supra* (1984): 13-19; inference from *Ath Pol.*43.3-6; cf. D.24.20-27, 353/2). Rhodes (*supra* (1995): 187) responds to Errington's article (*supra* (1994): 135-60), which discusses Hansen's view of the three types of assemblies per prytany in Athens (cf. Podes, *supra* [1995]: 167).

Prytaneis acted like intermediaries in that citizens went via them to the council. They issued *probouleumata*, proposals, which then went to the *ekklesia*, who would then choose whether to dismiss them or not. An account of the political democratic workings of the Greek state can be read in Ehrenberg, (1960). The treasurer was honoured with a portrait statue (εἰκὼν), which was set up in the Bouleuterion. The treasurer would be represented in gilded armour: *IG II²* 1048, 1049, 1050, 1061. Honours bestowed: *IG I³* 27, lines 9-10: ...ἐμ πόλει εστέλει καὶ ἐν/ τοῖ βουλευτε[ρίοι πρόχσενος] *Hesp.* 21 (1952):346-47; (c.450/49); *BCH* 92 (1968):480-2.

Inscriptions have been found which reveal the existence of a *synedrion*. Originally the term "*synedrion*" was applied to those assembled, i.e. "a sitting together." Thus the word came to mean the building itself where the meeting took place (Agora I 4266, line 37ff; found July 1936 covering a 5th-century AD Roman drain in the north room of the Metroon; height 1.31m, 284/3; Thompson, *supra*(1937):197; Agora I 3238, line12, 239/8, written on the same stele as 4266; Agora I 1567, 1567b, line13, 220AD). It is likely that the *synedrion* was another name for the Bouleuterion (Thompson, *supra* (1938):215, note 4; cf. *X.Hell.* 2.4.23, where 'The Thirty' are returning to Athens after their defeat by Thrasyboulos in Piraeus in 403: συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ).

3.5 Wooden statue of Zeus Boulaios

Bibliography: Crosby, *Hesp.* 6 (1937):464-65, no.12= Wycherley, (1937):136, no.427; T.L.Shear, *Hesp.* 6 (1937):354; McDonald, (1943):250ff; H.A.Thompson, "The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 35 (1966):182-183; J.H.Oliver, "Livia as Artemis Boulaia at Athens," *CP* 60 (1965):179.

Commentary: In the Bouleuterion Pausanias saw a wooden image (ξύανον) of Zeus Boulaios. The fact that this statue was made of wood, indicates the antiquity of the cult, and that it may have been transferred from the older building (Musti and Beschi, (1987):273). Epigraphically the cult is attested from the 5th century onwards, for instance the inscription on the architrave of the Bouleuterion at Aigai (McDonald, (1943):250ff). Thus it may be imagined that the cult of Zeus Boulaios originated from the need to have an ultimate overseer of political meetings, a god to sacrifice to in order that the proceedings be auspicious, and a reassurance that the process of justice was being carried out under the approval of heaven itself.

Athena Boulaia was worshipped alongside Zeus Boulaios at Athens, although Pausanias does not mention her. The priest of the two gods had a seat reserved for him in the theatre of Dionysos (*IG II²* 5054: 'Ιερέως' Διὸς Βουλαίου/ καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς Βουλαίας; also *IG II²* 3543, 3544, in honour of this priest; *IG II²* 5040... Δι/-[ὸς βου]λαίου καὶ

[Ἀθη]νᾶς βουλαί/-[ας]...). Zeus Boulaios was worshipped along side Hestia Boulaia (McDonald, (1943):282) and Hera Boulaia (*IG* II² 4675; mid 3rd-century dedication). Themis was also given the title Boulaia (*Plu.praec.ger.reip.* 802b; c.46-120AD) as was Julia Augusta, mother of Tiberius Augustus (a large block of Hymettian marble which has cutting for the feet of a bronze statue on the top bearing a dedication by the Council of the Areopagus, Crosby, *supra* (1937):464; cf. the young Lucius Caesar: Shear, (1937):354; also Oliver, *supra* (1965):179).

3.5 Apollo by Peisias

Bibliography: J.M.Fossey, *Epigraphica Boeotica I, Studies in Boiotian Inscriptions*, Amsterdam (1991):221/222.

Commentary: Pausanias saw a statue of Apollo in the Bouleuterion. He claims that it was by Peisias; unfortunately he is a sculptor of unknown date and is otherwise unattested. It is possible that the spelling of the name may be corrupted. There is a painter known as Pasiās. He is named in an inscription, along side Aristion, as being a dedicator of an image to Athena (EM3299+EM6247: Ἀριστίον καὶ Πασίας ἀνεθέ/-τεν τεῖ Ἀθηναίῳ ἀπαρχὲν/ Λαμπρε/ Ἐγίας ἐποίησεν//; Pentelic marble; found on the Akropolis). He was a brother of the painter Aiginetas, and pupil of Erginos (Plin. *NH*.35.145). Erginos *floruit* is placed c.235, so Pasiās possibly worked c.210. But it is impossible to know whether this Pasiās is the same as the sculptor who made the Apollo seen by Pausanias.

The name Pasiās is attested in Boiotia, although is not common, for instance the epitaph of one Pasiās is inscribed on a limestone *cippus*: Fossey, *supra*,(1991): 221/222, no.8, beginning of the 4th century; Pasiās is found in: Thebes (*IG* VII 2420, early 3rd century); Orchomenos (*IG* VII 3138, after the middle of the 3rd century). Names, however, formed from the root Pisi- increased with considerable speed in Boiotia. Possibly, then Peisias, or at least his family, may have come from Boiotia.

3.5 Demos by Lyson

Bibliography: Palagia, (1980):57-60.

Commentary: Also inside the Bouleuterion Pausanias saw a statue of Demos by the artist Lyson (Palagia, 1980):57-60). Lyson is another sculptor of unknown date; according to Pliny he made statues of athletes, armed men, hunters and men sacrificing (Plin.*NH*34.91).

Lead tokens from Athens dating to the Hellenistic period have on their reverse a laureate head of Demos, sometimes the letters ΔΗΜΟΣ or ΔΗΜ ΑΘ are also present.

Although it is impossible to assign these official tokens of the government to a particular function, the head depicted on the tokens was probably taken from a well-known image of Demos, possibly even the type Lyson had sculpted, if not the image itself (*LIMC* III, s.v. Demos no.32).

Images of Demos were shown on various record reliefs personifying either Athens or the state they were honouring. Thus by portraying the 'People' as human, the pact or decree was brought to a personal level. This furthered the sentiment behind the political motion of the two parties witnessed by the inscription which the relief crowned. Demos is shown middle aged, often with a sceptre, especially when seated. His chest, most of his abdomen and right arm is bare while his loins are covered by a *himation* which drapes across his lower body (*LIMC* III, s.v. Demos no.39= *IG* II² 3447; also *LIMC* III, s.v. Demos no.38=*IG* II² 3446=EM8623, Demos of Athens honouring the Demos of Delphi). The type resembles both Erechtheus and Kekrops, deriving from Attic grave reliefs of the fifth century (*LIMC* III, 381-2, C.Weiss). A marble base of a lost bronze statue of Demos of Lakedaïmonia was found on the Akropolis. The inscription records it as having been dedicated by the Demos of Athens (*LIMC* III, s.v. Demos no.4= *IG* II²3448=EM4555+EM4959). On the top of the base are cuttings for two feet and a pit for a sceptre, which supports the iconographical argument that Demos is often shown standing leaning or holding a vertical staff or sceptre. Thus the personification of this aspect of Greek society was frequently portrayed by artists (see Paus.1.3.3; *Index* s.v. *Zeus Eleutherios Stoa*; s.v. *Demos*). Parrhasios of Ephesos is also recorded as having painted a Demos of the Athenians, which was described as being mutable, hot-tempered, biased, precarious, and also placable, humane, and full of pity (Plin *NH* 35.67-72). Parrhasios' Demos, along with Record reliefs, is the first known representation of Demos, dating to the end of the fifth century (*LIMC* III, 381, C.Weiss). In the Piraeus was an image of Demos by Leochares (Paus.1.1.3). Aristolaos of the Sikyonian school, late 4th century, was also known to have painted a Demos (Plin.*NH*.35.137). Thus was the subject a popular one, but since the dates of Lyson are not established it cannot be known whether Lyson's work influenced others' works or indeed if he himself was influenced in his portrayal of Demos. As it stands, Parrhasios' Demos has to be taken as the first representation of the 'People'.

3.5 Protogenes of Kaunos

Bibliography: F.Wehrli, *Demetrios von Phaleron*, Lund (1949).

Commentary: Pausanias mentions that the painter Protogenes was the artist who worked on the *Thesmothetai*, 'the law-givers'. Obviously it was significant that the painting of

these officials was in the Bouleuterion. Demetrios of Phaleron re-organised the Nomophylakes, which may in fact have been the event this picture commemorated (first suggested by Curtius, (1891):229). This was done in 317/16-316/15 (Wehrli, *supra* (1949):89). Protogenes was active in the late 4th century, contemporary with Euphranor, Apelles of Kos, Zeuxis and Aristeides (Plin. *NH*.35.100), and so it is conceivable that he may have commemorated the event. If this was the case, by the time Pausanias visited Athens the reason why it had been painted was lost, since Pausanias labels them as the *Thesmothetai*.

Protogenes was said to have been devoted to his art (*artis summa intentio*). So much so that he was a perfectionist. There was a story that he became so frustrated in an attempt to paint a dog in his composition of Ialysos, a mythological hero, that in temper he threw the sponge at the painting, thus unintentionally achieving the desired affect of the foam around the animal's mouth (Plin. *NH*.35.102-3). He began his career through the benevolence of Apelles, who bought some of his paintings (Plin. *NH*.35.88). He was said to have painted ships until he was fifty (Plin. *NH*.35.106).

5.1 Tholos

Bibliography: J.Charbonneaux, "Tholos et Prytanée", *BCH* 49 (1925):158-78; E.Vanderpool, "Tholos and Prytanikon," *Hesp.*4 (1935):47-49, 470-75; S.Dow, "Prytaneis", *Hesp. Suppl.*1.(1937):8ff; Ch.Picard, "Le complexe Métröon-Bouleutérion-Prytanikon à l'Agora d'Athènes," *RA* 12 (1938):9ff; Thompson, (1940); B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.*13 (1944):253; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 29 (1960):8ff; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 30 (1961):218; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 32 (1963):7ff; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 33 (1964):180ff; Oikonomides, (1964):83; Orlandos, (1966); J.S.Traill, "Two New Prytany Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 38 (1969):419ff; R.Nicholls, "Sardis I, The Excavations III" *Hesp.*39 (1970):117; Travlos, (1971):553; J.-P.Adam, *La Construction Romaine, Matériaux et techniques*, in R.Ginouvès and Martin, *Dictionnaire méthodique de l'architecture grecque et romaines*, Paris (1984); S.T.Rotroff, "Spool Saltcellars in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.*53 (1984):346-47; F.Seiler, *Die griechische Tholos: Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung, Typologie und Funktion kunstmässiger Rundbauten*, Mainz, (1986); Camp, (1992):77ff; R.S.Stroud, "The Aiakeion and Tholos of Athens in P.Oxy. 2087", *ZPE* 103 (1994):1-9.

Commentary: Next to the Bouleuterion Pausanias saw the 'Tholos', the common term for a round building. The foundations of such a building can still be seen *in situ*, and must have been what Pausanias was referring to (*Plate 30, bottom*). It is adjacent to the

Bouleuterion. The area on which the Tholos stood had been cut away from the foot of the hill on the west side and the excess material was used to raise up the eastern side. The earliest remains were of a small building and well, the contents of which suggest domestic occupation. The subsequent building seems to have once been a Bouleuterion, measuring 6.07m x 15.00m. It had two rooms which seemed to have faced the courtyard. The floor packing was dated to the early 6th century and was probably used until the "Old Bouleuterion" was built close by. On top of this was a colonnaded court, which had wings on the north and south sides as well as a domestic quarter on the west side (*Plate 31, top*; Thompson, (1940): *passim*; much of the archaeological material presented here owes itself to this study).

The round building on this site dates from pottery found to c.470-60 after the Persian attack had destroyed the previous structure. Its outside diameter measured 18.32m; it had six interior columns to support the roof. The course of blocks on the western side was placed immediately on bed-rock; the other areas being laid on an economical mix of broken poros. The Tholos was repaired c.400, after fire damage, and a string course of Hymettian marble was added. The date derives from the debris in the deposits in the well around the Tholos (F11:2, F12:3, G11:4) which indicate c.295 (Rotroff, *supra* (1984):346-47). The original floor had a covering of clean brown clay. A Pentelic marble mosaic was laid in the middle of the 1st century AD, from the sherds of Samian and *terranigra* pottery. Cement was later poured on top of this, which was eventually covered by uneven marble slabs probably early in the 2nd century AD, and would have been the floor Pausanias walked on when he entered the building. Augustan coins found in between the layers, and a terracotta lamp date to the late 1st century. The area of the floor has a radius of 8.45m to the interior wall. Many of the lower stone wall blocks were found reused in the later Bouleuterion's *Propylon* and in the foundations of a fountain house which lay to the south east of the Tholos (Thompson, (1940):pl.73). All that remains are the massive poros blocks of its substructure, c.3.00m x 3.41m, dating to around the middle of the 1st century AD, from the sherds found. The north part of the wall was made up of irregular blocks which surrounded the Tholos precinct (Vanderpool, *supra* (1935):470-75). This wall was rebuilt closer to the Tholos body after the *Propylon* of the Bouleuterion was built, early in the 3rd century. The lowest course still remains *in situ*. The remainder of the wall may have been brick. Rectangular sinkings in block A915 may have been cut to receive fastenings for grills which would have been placed at the windows: as in the Pinakothek and Propylaia on the Akropolis (Thompson, (1940):pl.42). In the 3rd century AD after the building had suffered damage at the hands of the Herulians, it was reinforced with concrete, the solution the Romans preferred (cf.

the Artemis Temple at Sardis: Nicholls, *supra*(1970):117; Orlandos, (1966); cf. Adam, *supra*, (1984); for details of the rectangular building which stood on the north side). Five of the six unfluted column shaft bases rest *in situ* (Plate 31, bottom), the four outer ones lie in an arc roughly on a radius of 5.28m. The east and west columns veer off this circle towards the centre. Each of the shafts rested on a pier of 1m² soft grey poros blocks. The diameter of the lower part of the north-east column measures 0.60m. A tunnel underneath the Tholos precinct was found which led to two large cisterns west of the New Bouleuterion which collected rain water from the Bouleuterion roof. The door appears to have been fitted on the north side. This is inferred from a gap of c.1.05m wide in the centre.

Another rectangular annex, divided into two chambers, seems to have been connected to the tholos on the west side (*Hesp.* 6 (1937):171; measuring c.5.50m by 6.00m). It is known that weights and measures were stored in the Tholos; it is possible that they were kept in this room at the back of the Tholos (*IG II²* 1013, lines 37-43). A number of lead and bronze weights have been found close to the Tholos, dating from the 6th to the 4th centuries. They bear official symbols indicating their weight, and have the words *Demosion Athenaion*, "property of the Athenians", inscribed along their edges (Camp, (1992):77; Camp, (1990):243, dry measures for fruit and nuts).

The roof was made up of three types of buff yellow tiles, which were worked in fine clay. One is triangular in shape which must have been held in place with clay, since there are no pin holes; another is one of a series of tiles which were covered by the first, also triangular but their points direct down and were covered by antefixes in the form of palmettes. The fragments of antefixes found indicate that the centre and the five diamond shaped space fillers were coloured purple (Nicholls, *supra*(1970):117, who discusses a possible bronze acroterion). The third type which made up the rest of the roof and gave it its unmistakable character were diamond shaped: the groove and depressions underneath enabled it to grip onto the tile beneath, holding onto the metal pin below. These last tiles were quite sizable: 0.64m wide, and c.1.6m from top to bottom.

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods the building was known as the Tholos (Andok.1.45; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.*43.3; D.19.249; Plat. *Apolog.*32c; cf. Hesych. sv. Θόλος; Phot. sv. Θόλος). In literature both Tholos and the term *skias* are used for the building, becoming it seems interchangeable: "The place where the prytaneis eat is called 'Tholos', by some 'Skias' because it is built round in this way, like a conical hat" (Harpokrat. sv. Θόλος, quoting Ammonios, '*On Altars*'; cf. Etym. Magn. s.v. Θόλος). Thus the name of the building was given because of its shape. In the same way the co-called "Umbrella"

was where musicians would retire to play when it rained in the Spring Gardens in Vauxhall, London, in 1786. St. Peter's Church on Tyre Street now stands on part of it.

From sometime in the 2nd century AD, however, the building became known as the σκιῶς or "umbrella." Evidence for this comes from a number of inscriptions (*IG II²* 1013, lines 37-43; "The man assigned for the provision of the weights and measures shall hand them over to the public slave appointed in the skias"; *IG II²* 1795; 1796; 1798 (2nd century AD, warden of the Skias); *IG II²* 1806, line 22 (2nd/3rd century AD).

If '*skias*' was in use in Pausanias' time, why does he not give it this name? This is puzzling since he is aware of the existence of the term: "there is another road which leads out of the Spartan Agora, on it stands 'what is called' the Skias" (Paus.3.12.10). From the date of the references extant, literary and epigraphical, it seems that in fact the term *skias* was not commonly applied to the building in Athens until sometime late in the second century AD, which may have been after Pausanias visited Athens. The term *skias* was known in the Classical period but was generally used to indicate shade, rather than peculiarity of shape. Thus the etymology of the word indicates that the shape of the shade maker, i.e. the hat or parasol, became the common term for a building which had the same shaped roof (Eupolis, 445 (5th century): Kock, *CAF*, i p.258; Theoc.(3rd century)15.119; cf. *Skiron*, the schol. comments on Ar. *Ec*.18, where the priest of Erechtheus was covered by a white parasol, and Lysimach. 23, where the same protection shaded the priestess of Athena in the procession from the Akropolis to the place in Athens known as Skiron). In fact, since Pausanias uses the term 'Tholos' which only meant 'round building' (cf. parallels, Seiler, *supra* (1986)), it may be possible that such an 'umbrella' design was not in fact in position on the roof when Pausanias saw it (cf. Paus.2.27.3 the 'Tholos' at Epidauros, of white stone). In fact columns may have been removed from the building in the 1st or 2nd century AD, which would mean that the original roof borne on wooden rafters was redesigned some time in the 2nd century AD (Thompson, *supra* (1940):72). If so, then maybe this happened after Pausanias visited Athens, or at least if it had been erected before, the designation *skias* may not have yet been in use.

The *prytaneis* in Athens were also supposed to have eaten in the *Tholos* in Athens (Harpokrat. quoting Ammonios, *on Altars*; [Arist.]*Ath.Pol.* 43: συσσιτοῦσιν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ; D.19,190; "I know that all the prytaneis sacrifice together, and dine and make libation together"). Tableware was found in a pit about four metres to the south-east of the Tholos, and would support this. Most of the ware dates to c.480-60, including a fine red-figured kantharos (Agora Mus.Inv. no.4952: *AA* (1937): col.43,pl.2; *AJA* 62 (1938):6, pl.6; Charbonneaux, *supra*(1925):158-78). The date of the pottery along with the date of

the antefixes would indicate that the building was constructed around 470/60, after the Persian attack destroyed the previous structure. A rectangular building which probably served as the kitchen, adjoined the Tholos (Thompson, (1940), plan 56). At all times the floor was of packed earth. That it was a kitchen, has been assumed from the fact that it lies immediately above earlier "broiling pits" which belonged to the Tholos' predecessor (Thompson, (1940):73). One of the tiles from the roof of the Tholos was found in one of these pits. It may have been put there deliberately by the workmen to fill it up, enabling the kitchen to be built on top (Thompson, *supra* (1940):75). There is also the possibility that the tile could have fallen in, when the workmen were actually working on the roof, since it is new, and had not yet suffered any discoloration. A large drain also ran from this building, which would have been necessary for a kitchen.

Pausanias mentions that the Prytaneis sacrificed at the Tholos (cf. Dow, *supra* (1937):8, no.64, line 5, sacrifice to Apollo Prostaterios, Artemis Boulaia and the other gods). The *ekklesia* at Sparta also sacrificed in a round building, the one which stood on the road leading out of the Spartan Agora (Paus.3.12.10). It is known that the Prytaneis sacrificed to Artemis Boulaia and Apollo Prostaterios before the *ekklesia* met (Agora I 787, lines 10-13, dating to 228/7). This particular inscription was to be set up in the Prytanikon (lines 28-29). Interestingly a decree (c.220) was found to the east of the Tholos porch stating that it was to be set up in the Agora near the altar of Artemis Boulaia (Agora I 2361, lines 19-20: ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμ/-ιδος τῆς βουλαίας; c.220; Meritt, *supra* (1944):253, it had been found in the 4th-century AD levels). A small statuette of a female wearing a short chiton was also found, this could be Artemis, or one of the Phosphoroi, whose cult was located close by (see below). Repeated finds of decrees which were to be set up in the Prytanikon found in this area have increased support that the Prytanikon was located close to the Tholos (Vanderpool, *supra* (1935): 470ff; S.Dow, *supra* (1937):27). If the Prytanikon was located here, it would explain why Pausanias mentions the Prytaneis as sacrificing in the Tholos since the buildings would be close to each other (Agora I 787; Dow, *supra* (1970):27; cf. Merrit and Traill, (1974)). Convincing arguments have been put forward suggesting that the Prytanikon and the Tholos are one and the same (Stroud, *supra* (1994):3; note that the Prytaneion was probably located over on the north-east slope of the Akropolis; Wycherley and Thompson, (1972):41-42). But it is difficult to know whether the two buildings were the same, although the proximity of other buildings to the south west of the Tholos may in fact have been where the Prytanikon was located.

Both the Aiakeion and the Tholos are mentioned in P.Oxy.xvii 2087, an alphabetic glossary of the 2nd century AD; lines 16-18, read: Αἰάκιον κ(αὶ) ἡ θόλος;

αἴ] φασι [τ]ὸν Αἰακὸν/ οἰκῆσαι, θόλος δ' (ἐ) ὅπου δεῖται ἡ πρυτανία/ νέουσα φυλή.
[.2-3..] τῷ Αἰακίῳ δίκ(αι) ἀναγράφον/-ται; "Aiakeion and the Tholos: where they say
Aiakos dwelled; now the Tholos is where the Prytanising tribe dines, now in the Aiakeion
law-suits are published" (Stroud, *supra*(1994):7). Only the first part of this gloss (το
οἰκῆσαι) recurs in Hesychius (similarly in Bekker, *Anec.Gr.* 212.15). Oikonomides had
believed that the papyrus POxy2087 suggested that the Aiakeion and the Tholos were the
same, since he took the *kai* as tying the two names together, thus interpreting the text as
though Aiakeion and the Tholos was where Aiakos dwelt. Stroud now stresses, and he
seems correct, that the Aiakeion and the Tholos were separate buildings. He believed the
force of the *kai* to be a reflection of what had been in the compiler's source. The text,
read carefully, does indeed suggest that the Aiakeion was where they say that Aiakos
lived and the Tholos was where the prytaneis took their meals. This is deduced by
looking at other lexicographers, their sources and the way they write their entries for the
Aiakeion and the Tholos (Stroud, *supra*(1994):7,9).

A garden may have stood around the Tholos, since the cult of the Phosphoroi was
located near the building. An inscription was found in the late Roman filling about five
meters south-east of the Tholos. It records the dedication of plants to the Phosphoroi
(Agora I 4745: ...τὰ φυτὰ/ ταῖς πωσφόροις...dating to the turn of 2nd/3rd century AD;
cf. *IG* II²1755: honours priest of the Phosphoroi; Wachsmuth, (1874):317, n.1, and p.319;
Plut.2.119e, on the sacred festival). A dedication was made in honour of the priest of the
phosphoroi cult (*IG* II² 1077: ἱερεὺς φωσφόρων, 209/10AD; *IG* II² 1795; *IG* II² 1796;
IG II² 1798; *Hesp.* 3 (1934):56, no.43; Vanderpool, (1935): 47-49, no.11, c.180AD). It is
clear that a sanctuary of some form stood in the area around the Tholos and the
Bouleuterion. There is a wide area to the south-west of the Tholos which is residential,
while the cult may have been located to the west (Vanderpool, *supra* (1935): 47-49,
no.11, c.180AD: ἱερεὺς Φωσφόρων καὶ ἐπὶ Σκιάδος).

Pausanias mentions that there were small silver images there as well. Various
statue bases stood in the Tholos precinct, including one to the south-west, two large
rectangular blocks to the north-east of the Tholos, a square base to the north, and all
around are poros blocks with rectangular sinkings to support images (Thompson, *supra*
(1940):93-95). A large rectangular monument base, which seems to have been an *exedra*,
lies to the east and measures 5.50m x 9.50m. It has large foundations along the east, west
and south ends but slightly smaller ones along the north side indicating that this side must
have taken less weight (*Plate 31*; Thompson, *supra*(1940): pl.71). The curved back may
have supported small statues, but probably not the statues which Pausanias saw, since
they had been made of silver and were unlikely to have been positioned outside.

5.1 Eponymoi

Bibliography: E.Vanderpool, *Hesp.* 18 (1949):129; R.E.Wycherley, *GRBS* 2 (1959):32; T.Hölscher, "Ein attischer Heros," *AA* 84 (1969): 416, n.22; Shear Jr., (1970):145-222; Travlos, (1971):210; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):38-40; U.Kron, "Die Zehn attischen Phylenheroen", *AM Beih.* 5, Berlin, (1976):217-219; E.G.Pemberton, "The Gods of the East Frieze of the Parthenon", *AJA* 80 (1976):114; F.Brommer, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*, London (1979):44; E.B.Harrison, "The Iconography of the Eponymous Heroes on the Parthenon and in the Agora" in *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Margaret Thompson*, Wetteren (1979):71-85, pl.5f; Ridgway, (1981): 78-79; P.Siewert, *Die Trittyen Attikas und die Heeresreform des Kleisthenes*, Munich (1982); J.Boardman, (1985):108; I.Jenkins, "The Composition of the so-called Eponymous Heroes on the East Frieze of the Parthenon", *AJA* 89 (1985):125-27; M.C.Root, "The Parthenon Frieze and the Apadana Reliefs at Persepolis: Reassessing a Programmatic Relationship," *AJA* 89 (1985):125-27; Traill, (1986); S.Woodford, "Eponymoi or Anonymoi? *Source Notes in the History of Art* 4 (1987):1-5; J.Whitely, "Early States and Hero Cults: A reappraisal," *JHS* 108 (1988): 173-82; E.Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, *BICS Suppl.* 57 (1989):81; C.C.Mattusch, "The Casting of Greek Bronzes: Variation and Repetition," in *Small Bronze Sculpture from the Ancient World*, Malibu (1990):135-138; C.Vatin, "Monuments votifs de Delphes," *Archaeologia Perusina* 10 (1991):165-234; Camp, (1992), figs.72,73,74; K.DeVries, "The Eponymous Heroes' on the Parthenon Frieze," *AJA* 96 (1992):336; B.Nagy, "Athenian Officials on the Parthenon Frieze," *AJA* 96 (1992):62-69; C.C.Mattusch, "The Eponymous Heroes: The Idea of Sculptural Groups", in Coulson *et al.*, (1994):73-81; C.Vatin, "La base des héros eponymes à Athènes au temps de Pausanias," *Ostraka* 4 (1995):33-41; Arafat, (1996): 168-69.

Commentary: Pausanias describes portraits (*andriantes*) of the Eponymous Heroes, from whom the Athenians named their tribes, as standing "higher up". Pausanias' use of the adverb ἀνωτέρω is explained by the fact that the statues stood on top of a tall base (*Plate 32, top*). This word has, however, been the subject of much discussion even to the extent that the text should be amended to read ἄπωτέρω ("further off") since it was considered misleading and confusing (Vanderpool, *supra*(1949):129). Without this alteration to the text a "momentary confusion of mind or lapse of memory" was blamed for Pausanias' wording (Wycherley, *supra*(1959):32). But the explanation of Pausanias' use of the adverb is simple and rather obvious when the archaeology of the monument is taken into consideration, because the statues would have been positioned at an elevated level.

The Eponymoi were legendary men, heroes and kings after whom the tribes of Athens were named. Pausanias cites Herodotus, for the information that Kleisthenes set up ten tribes, in place of the original four, during his reforms of 508/7 (Hdt.5.66,69; Eliot, (1962)). The ten were correctly named by Pausanias as Hippothoon, Antiochos, Ajax, Leos, Erechtheus, Aigeus, Oineus, Akamas, Kekrops and Pandion son of Erichthonios. The tribes, attested in inscriptions especially from Athens itself, are called Hippothoontis, Antiochis, Aiantis, Leontis, Erechtheis, Aigeis, Oineis, Akamantis, Pandionis and Kekropis respectively.

A long monument base set up sometime between 350 and 330 was found opposite the Metroon aligned north-south (Shear, (1970):145-222). The south section of the base is lost but the euthynteria has been estimated as originally measuring 16.64m by 1.87m (Vatin, *supra* (1995):35). It was originally made up of blocks of poros, but some were replaced with marble in the Roman period. Five blocks from the lower part and two marble blocks from the top course remain. Some blocks have also been found bearing numbers which may have run in numerical order from north to south (Shear Jr., (1970):189-96; cf. Vatin, *supra* (1995):35, who finds it difficult to elicit a reason for this). Block 20 (K) has cuttings to receive a tripod of which there were probably two, one at either end, indicative that the names of the tribes were chosen by the Delphic oracle (as Paus.10.10.1; [Arist.] *Ath.Pol.*21.6). Surrounding the base, three railed wooden fence planks had been attached to marble and limestone posts and had a crowning member (*Plate 33*). The fenced monument measured 18.40m by 3.68m, but was extended to c.21m in 307/6 (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):39, note 84). This extension may have been made to accommodate the additional statues of Antigonos and Demetrios when they were included among the Eponymous Heroes after tribes had been created in their honour (D.S.20.46.2). Cuttings for the clamps which would have held the re-setting of the marble crowning base blocks can be seen at the southern end of the monument which may have been the end where these statues were set up (*Plate 32, bottom*). But the number of cuttings on the blocks may equally only reveal repair work, as had been the case with the base south of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (Vatin, *supra* (1995):36 and n.12). After the period of their *damnatio memoriae*, the tribes of Antigonos and Demetrios were removed ([D.]60.27-31). Their statues were left standing on the monument of the Eponymous Heroes at Delphi, since they were still there for Pausanias to see when he visited the site (Paus.10.10.1-2).

Shear claimed that a statue of Ptolemy was set up on the north side of the monument, but this is not conclusive (Shear Jr., (1970):164, fig.8, pl.52; cf. Vatin, *supra* (1995):37). Attalos was also added to the list, as Pausanias mentions, in 200 (Paus.1.8.1).

A separate pedestal was set up in line with the base and the fence elongated to accommodate it. Since it is made up of reused stones, including an inscription dating to 50/49, it has been suggested that it held the statue of Hadrian, when he was added to the number of heroes in c.AD125 (Camp, (1990):71). Although it is possible that a single base was set up for Hadrian alone, a similar arrangement may also have stood at the lost south end on which may be envisaged another image (Vatin, *supra* (1995):37). Could this have been a statue of Attalos? There seems to be nothing in Pausanias' description to indicate that Hadrian's statue or any other of the Heroes or later members stood on a separate base (Shear Jr., (1970):202). Indeed there is actually nothing in Pausanias' description to suggest that Hadrian's image was set up on the base in Athens at all. The only thing Pausanias mentions is the fact that the later tribes of the Athenians were named after Attalos, Ptolemy and Hadrian.

The statues may have faced east towards the Agora, although it has also been suggested that the statues stood back to back, as the statues of the Eponymous Heroes on the base near the entrance at Delphi had been (cf. Vatin, *supra* (1995):36, and n.10). Shear did not see anything in Pausanias' description which suggests the arrangement of the statues (Shear Jr., (1970):202, n.86). This is where Vatin differs again, since he draws into comparison the two bases of the Eponymoi statues at Delphi: one near the entrance to the main sanctuary, and the other next to the Treasury of the Athenians (Vatin, *supra* (1995):33, 38-41; *id.*, *supra* (1955):33, 39, fig.7; cf. *id.*, *supra* (1991):165-234). Pausanias' description of the Eponymous Heroes' statues at Delphi, Vatin claims, was scrupulous. By comparing his description of the statues at Athens with the ones at Delphi Vatin concludes that they had been set up at both sites in an arbitrary order. Vatin imagines Pausanias describing the base, leaving the statues of Ptolemy, Attalos and Hadrian, until he had described the earlier heroes. That the order of the statues Pausanias' mentions does not follow the lists of tribes as given in the inscriptions, would seem to imply that he had some other criteria in naming them (Dittenberger, *Hermes* 2 (1867):288). The simplest solution, and one which seems most likely given Pausanias' method, would be that he was describing the statues in the order he saw them (as also *LIMC* I, 853, E.B.Harrison).

The first surviving allusion to a monument of the Eponymous Heroes comes from the year 424 (*Ar.Pax*, 1183-4, and Schol.). This was the year the *Pax* was produced and is about 75 years before the base opposite the Metroon was built. Therefore there must have been another, which the later one replaced. The foundations of a base was uncovered beneath the south aisle of the Middle Stoa, which from the pottery found there seems to have been in use from c.430-25 to c.350, probably Periklean (as Musti and Beschi,

(1987):278). It is possible that the reference in the *Pax* alludes to this monument which had recently been built for the Heroes. This earlier base only measures 9.70m, over eight and a half metres less than the later fourth-century one over by the Metroon, which seems to make it unlikely that it could have held ten tribal statues. If it should be linked to the Eponymous Heroes at all, it may have only held the original four (as Pausanias, 1.5.1; Hdt.5.66, 69). The base's terminal date coincides with the erection of the long base opposite the Metroon, which seems to suggest a connection, that the new one may have replaced the earlier base (Shear Jr., (1970):189-96, 205-222; also Mattusch, *supra*(1994):75).

Since there are no descriptions of the statues of the Eponymous Heroes in any surviving literature, the suggestion has been made that the statues of the Eponymous Heroes in Athens were not distinguished from one another and just stood in a group (Mattusch, *supra* (1994):76; cf. Vatin, *supra*(1995):34). This seems to misunderstand the point of their being set up in the first place, since details relating to each tribe must have been positioned beneath the respective tribe's statue (see final paragraph in this section below). An observer must have been able to differentiate one from the other. It has been argued that they could have all been based on one model, such as the cloaked bearded men who appear on a number of red-figure vases, variation in their poses being achieved through changing the weight bearing leg (Mattusch, (1990):135-138). It has also been suggested that the group of men on the east Frieze of the Parthenon represented the Eponymoi (*supra* Pemberton, Wycherley, Brommer, Boardman, Mattusch, Hölscher, Kron and Harrison), although this has been disputed (*supra* Jenkins, Root, Ridgway, DeVries and Nagy). There are no descriptions of the statues in later literature. It is possible that they may have conformed to some standard type, although there is not even a description of them all being "old fashioned" which may promote this view (Mattusch, *supra* (1994):77). The question remains open, although their appearance on the Parthenon frieze has met with support.

Antiochos and Hippothoon have been tentatively identified on the east frieze of the Parthenon as figures 18 and 19 respectively (*Plate 33, bottom; LIMC I, s.v. Antiochos no.10, pl.679*). Hippothoon was the product of Poseidon's seduction of Alope, and was supposed to have been exposed twice on a mountain and was suckled by a mare, explaining the Hipp- stem (Plut. *Thes.*11; Apollod.*Epit.*1.3; Aul.Gell.13.21; Hyg.*Fab.*38). Hippothoon was later set on the throne by Herakles (Hesych. sv. Ἴπποθοώντειος; Hesych. sv. Ἀλόπη; also: Hyg.*Fab.*187). In the Parthenon frieze Antiochos was one of Herakles' children by Medea (D.S.4.37). Antiochos' head is missing; it is believed that he was shown youthful as this figure appears in Carrey's drawing. He wears a *himation*, and

stands facing right, talking with the male figure next to him, believed to be Hippothoon. Hippothoon's right arm and left hand are wrapped in his cloak. On a red-figure *dinos* in Malibu, attributed to the Syleus painter, Hippothoon is represented bearded, cloaked, wearing a *chiton* and leaning on his staff (*supra* (1993), fig.7) (J.Paul Getty Museum 89.AE.73; c.470). Consistent with the image of Antiochos on the Parthenon frieze, decree reliefs of the deme Antiochis show a bearded man, wearing a draped *himation*. He also faces left, his right hand rests on his hip and his left arm is raised holding a painted staff (*LIMC* I, s.v. Antiochos no.6, pl.679, Ath.NM.3491). In a fragment of a second-century AD copy of the shield of the Athena Parthenos the figure identified as Antiochos is very young (*LIMC* I, s.v. Antiochos no.11, pl.680; Berlin Staatl.Mus.1842). He wears a double girt short linen chiton and carries a shield. In conclusion, Antiochos could be represented either bearded or unbearded which reflects his position as founder of the tribe and also as gymnasiarch. In fact Antiochos was the only one of the *eponymoi* to have his cult in a gymnasium (*LIMC* I, 853, E.B.Harrison).

Both Antiochos' and Hippothoon's sanctuaries lay outside the walls of the city of Athens: Antiochis near the outer side of the Ilissos, and Hippothoontis way out in Eleusis. That this link between the two heroes was made in antiquity seems evident since Pausanias names the two heroes one after the other, possibly reflecting the fact that they stood next to each other. This further supports the view that the two heroes were shown talking to one another in the Parthenon frieze (as above) and also that they were shown together in the Theseum frieze (*LIMC* I, 853, E.B.Harrison).

It has been stated that the desire to associate Salamis with Athens justified Ajax's place among the Eponymous Heroes (*LIMC* I, 336, O.Touchefeu). Ajax was supposed to have been buried on Cape Rhoiteon, and was later re-buried by Hadrian (Paus.1,35,31; Philostrat.*Heroica*.1.2). Ajax is often shown as a bearded warrior, his shield in his left hand and his lance in his right (*LIMC* I, s.v. Aias no.315, pl.232). In the east frieze of the Parthenon, Ajax has been tentatively identified as figure 21 the strong male whose *himation* has fallen to reveal his torso (*Plate 33, bottom*; *LIMC* I s.v. Aias no.11, pl.232). Here he is unbearded and leans slightly backwards, there is no paint remaining which would have clearly marked out his support. Another youthful unbearded image of Ajax is seen in an Attic cup from Vulci (*ARV*² 1268,I; Bologne, Civic Museum, PU 273; *LIMC* I, s.v. Aias no.13, pl.233). He has short hair, a shield with a bull on it, a spear and he is wearing a short tunic. The cup dates to 440-30, which is contemporary with the suggested date of the first Eponymous Heroes base, this image may therefore have been similar to the one set up on the base at that time (earlier representations of him, however, are known, for instance *LIMC* I, s.v. Ajax no.14, pl.233).

Leos may be figure 23 of the east frieze of the Parthenon, and Erechtheus, probably figure 46 (*Plate 33, bottom*; see *Index s.v. The Leokoreion*; Suda, *Leokorion*; Ael. var. *hist.*12.28' Jerome. *Jovinianus*, p.185, ed. Mart.; Aristeides, *Panath. Orat.*). Most of the images of Aigeus come from the fifth century, while the earliest ones are from the sixth century (*LIMC I*, 364, J.Ch.Balty). In the east frieze of the Parthenon he has been identified as figure 45 (*Plate 33, bottom*; *LIMC I*, s.v. Aigeus no.40, pl.280; Kron, *supra* (1976):202-14, pl.30, 31). Aigeus may also have been one of the older heroes shown on the Parthenon shield, as seen in the copy from the Piraeus (*LIMC I* s.v. Aigeus no.43). Aigeus was the son of Pandion II, and Pylia daughter of Pylas, king of Megara, and became king of Athens, hence his importance to the Athenians and so their reasoning behind adopting him as an Eponymous Hero.

Oineus has been tentatively identified as figure 22 on the east frieze of the Parthenon (*Plate 33, bottom*; Kron, *supra* (1976):188-89; Harrison, (1979):77-78). He appears absolutely relaxed as he leans on his staff. His left leg is drawn across his right, where it rests on its toes. His upper torso is bare, and his right arm rests on his left arm which is shown foreshortened. In other instances Oineus is shown as a lightly armed warrior (*LIMC II*, s.v. Oineus no.2= I, Akamas et Demophon no.25= VII, Pandion no.10). He is also seen in an Attic lead token, (*LIMC II*, s.v. Oineus no.1). Oineus was the king of Kalydon.

Akamas, the son of Theseus and Phaidra (Apollod. *Epitom.*1.18; Paus.1.22.2; Ov. *Heroid.*4.67ff), may be figure 44 of the east frieze of the Parthenon, but it is extremely difficult to know (*Plate 33, bottom*; Kron, *supra* (1976):202-14). In a red-figured painting on a bell-krater Akamas wears a beard and a *himation* (Syracuse N.M. 30477, from Kamarina; *ARV*² 1153, 17; *LIMC I* s.v. Akamas and Demophon no.25). Kekrops has been identified as figure 43 in the east frieze (Robertson and Frantz, (1975):VI 43). He leans on his staff, pulling his *himation* up to his chest (for other representations of him see *LIMC VI*, 1084-1091, addenda, s.v. Kekrops, esp.1088). He leans towards another standing male figure in front of him who may be Akamas, who has his back turned to him. Pandion, son of Erichthonios, is probably figure 20 (*Plate 33, bottom*; Robertson and Frantz, (1975):IV 20; *LIMC VII*, s.v. Pandion no.1= I, Aigeus no.40). This figure stands erect, his head turned to the younger figure on his left, who may be Ajax, see above (figure 21).

A red-figure ram's head rhyton in Virginia, by the Triptolemos painter, shows five figures, of which it is clear Kekrops, Theseus and possibly Pandion are represented, although the other two are unidentifiable (Virginia Mus. 79.100; c.480; Mattusch *supra*(1994):77,n.35,fig.5). They all have beards, except Theseus and Pandion, the latter

has white hair. Although the restoration of the name Pandion seems the most likely restoration, it must be pointed out that only the letters "-ON" of his name survive.

The identity of the figures on the Parthenon frieze as Eponymoi is not conclusive. But it must be conceded that although the majority seem to conform to a standard type, some have features which indicate their individuality. They do not actively participate in any of the preparations. They are spectators, while their position so close to the gods would seem to indicate their importance to the Athenians. The question remains open as to whether these are the Eponymoi, but there are strong arguments in support of this (Kron, *supra* (1976):*passim*).

Pausanias questions which Kekrops was the Eponymous Hero. Although either could be possible, it is likely that the 'first' king of Athens was commemorated. Kekrops I married Aktaios' daughter, Aglauros, and was succeeded by Kranaos. In later writers he is described as being a good king, instituting burials, writing and monogamy. His supposed tomb, known as the Kekropion, was on the Athenian Akropolis (Eur. *Ion*. 1163ff; Apollod.3.177ff; Schol. Ar.*Plut*. 773). The other Kekrops in question by Pausanias was Kekrops II. He was the son of Erechtheus, son of Pandion I, son of Erichthonios. When his father was killed by Poseidon, it was decided that Kekrops would rule (Apollod.3.15.1, 5; Plut. *Thes*.32; Paus.7.1.2). Kekrops was threatened by his brothers Metion and Orneus over the throne and so he fled to Megara then Euboia, where he founded a colony with his own son Pandion, who subsequently acquired the throne of Athens (Eustath. on Hom. p.281; Apollod. 3.15.5).

Pausanias also seems to have been genuinely perplexed about which Pandion was the Eponymous Hero. The tradition seems to have got confused over a period of time. But since both Pandions had a claim to the throne the source of the confusion can easily be explained. Pandion I was the son of Erichthonios. He had twin sons, Erechtheus, who became king of Athens, and Boutes, who became the priest of Athena and Poseidon (Ov. *Met*.6,675ff; Apollod.2.15.1). Pandion II on the other hand was the son of Kekrops II. He acquired the throne of Athens when his father, Kekrops II (as above), had gone to Euboia to escape death. This Pandion had four sons, Aigeus (Son of Creusa, Bakch. 1.18.15; F.Brommer, "Attische Könige", in *Charites: Festschrift für E.Langlotz* (1957):159-60), Pallas, Nisos, and Lykos (Apollod.*Bibl*.3 [206] 15.5). This Pandion was probably the Eponymous Hero, and his father (Kekrops II) may also have been one of the Eponymous Heroes, although the first king of Athens (Kekrops I) may have been deemed more worthy to be honoured. Also Kekrops II had fled Athens.

The statues of the Eponymous Heroes served a function in the Athenian city state. Their proximity to the Bouleuterion highlights their importance in the political life of

Attika ([Arist.] *Ath.Pol.*53.4; cf. the statues were seen clearly from the Metroon, *Plate* 33, *top right*). It was a place where boards were set up carrying information for each tribe, like proposed laws (D.24 (*Timokrates*).23). The *Nomothetai* would write on the boards and put them out in front of the Eponymoi for anyone to look at (Andok. I (*de myster.*) 83: ...ἀναγράφοντες ἐν σανίσιν ἐκτιθέντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐπωνύμους σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ..." (date 399); πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων (Aeschin.*Ctes.*39) and παρὰ τὸν ἐπώνυμον; *IG* II² 1171, line 14: στήσαι παρὰ τὸν ἐπώνυμον). Individuals could be honoured there (Isokrat.18 (*in Callim.*),61) or publicly shamed (Isaios 5 (*Dikaiogenes*) 38, date c.389: ἐπ' αἰχίστῳ ἐπιγράμματι ἐξετέθη αὐτοῦ τοῦνομα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων... "His name was set up in a most shameful inscription in front of the Eponymoi..."). The boards may have been hung directly on the base (Shear Jr., (1970):169) or they may have been hung on the fence which surrounded the later base, which may have made it easier to read and set up (Mattusch, *supra* (1994):75 n.28; note also that Kron, *supra* (1976):234-36, thought they were initially set up near the Herms). The fact that their names were displayed at the feet of their ancestral heroes would have publicly humiliated and dishonoured not just the individual, but his entire family and whole tribe. Note that a number of these sources pre-date the base opposite the Metroon, which further supports the idea that the Eponymous Heroes must have been set up on another base before this one had been built in order to make sense of the date and content of the inscriptions and literary evidence.

5.5 Attalos I Soter the Mysian

Bibliography: E..Bickerman, *Berytus*, 8 (1943-4): 76-8; H.B.Mattingly, *Historia* 20 (1971):28-32; G.Nachtergaele, *Les Galates en Grèce et les Sôtéria de Delphes*, Brussels (1977): 401-3; S.V.Tracy and C.Habicht, *Hesp.*60 (1991):217.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions that one of the later Eponymous Heroes was Attalos the Mysian. This is Attalos, son of Attalos, nephew of Philetairos, who succeeded Eumenes I Soter of Pergamon, in 241 (269-197; Polyb.28.41: he lived for 72 years, being King for 44 of them, he died in the Spring of 197). Like other Hellenistic rulers from Asia Minor he was fond of contributing to public works, not least in Athens, where the inscription above the stoa on the east side of the Agora recorded his generosity and love for the city: *IG* II² 3171:[Β]ασιλ[εὺς] Ἀττάλου βασιλ[έως] Ἀττάλου καὶ Β[α]σιλίσσης Ἀπολλωνίδος--ἀνέθηκεν] "King Attalos, son of King Attalos and Queen Apollonis, ...dedicated this" (the stoa of course being the so-called Stoa of Attalos).

He supported Philip II's enemies, which was a mistake, and eventually after renewing the war with an alliance with Rhodes (201) and anchoring Roman intervention, the Second Macedonian War was fought at sea. But Attalos died just before the last success. As a result of the Roman intervention Pergamon became controlled by Rome. Pausanias mentions (Paus.1.4.5) that Attalos forced the Gauls to flee away from the sea, back into the country they now hold. It was by this triumph that he was named Soter and a triumph monument was set up in Pergamon. By defeating the Gauls he also secured for himself a strong position and possibly the royal title (Str.13.4.2). It may not have been the defeat of the Gauls which made Antigonos king as was the current opinion, but rather the defeat of Antiochos Hierax (Bickerman, *supra*(1943-4):76-8; cf. *OGIS* 274: a battle in Phrygia on the Hellespont). The confusion may have arisen through the fact that Hierax had co-operated with the Gauls. To Pausanias it is one of Attalos' greatest achievements. The Gallic repression was indeed an important event in the history of the Mediterranean. When the threat of the Gauls was removed, the sea was free and people could trade without suffering what in effect was piracy. The event is documented by Memnon of Herakleia (*FGrH*434, F 11). Nikomedes of Bithynia made a treaty with Asia to the effect that the Asians had to promise allegiance to him. He thus brought over the mass of Gauls, using them to establish control over the country (cf. Livy 37.40 on the use of Gallic mercenaries). The Gauls were let loose over the rest of the country, creating havoc, taking booty, so much so that a tax seems to have been levied to help cope with them (letter of Antiochos I or II to Erythrai, *OGIS* 223, ll.26-28; *OGIS* 748, ll.19-22, public donations including wheat and barley from Hellenistic monarchies 276/5). This was especially the case on the islands (*SIG*³ 398, this is an important inscription since it records contemporary events; Nachtergaele, *supra* (1977): 401-3). As a result, after the war with the Gauls, those cities which had revolted against the Attalids during the engagements, found themselves with fines levied on them as punishment, which often they could not pay (*OGIS* 751). So important was Attalos' action against the Gauls, but it may not have been this which coerced the Athenians to name a tribe after him.

Attalos also defeated the Seleucid Antiochos Hierax in the 230's when he sided with Rome against Philip V of Macedon. In response to Athenian ambassadors sent to him, Attalos visited Athens in 200 and agreed to help them fight against the Macedonians. It was probably as a result of Attalos' actions against the Macedonians that the Athenians decided to honour him by naming a tribe after him (Polyb.16.25).

No coin type has been identified as being a portrait of Attalos although a marble head in Berlin may be an image of him since it was found at Pergamon (*Plate 34, top*

left; Richter, (1984):244, fig.247). It is 3rd-century in style. It cannot be Eumenes II who also ruled at this time since his portrait is known.

5.5 Ptolemy of Egypt

Bibliography: H.Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin (1975):17-18; R.Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*, (1988):48-49; Jones (1992):27.

Commentary: Another of the later Eponymous Heroes was Ptolemy of Egypt, Pausanias reports. Although doubts have been expressed as to which Ptolemy Pausanias is referring to (Jones, (1992):27, note2), it is clear that this is Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The answer lies in the actual words of Pausanias. Pausanias later describes that near an image of Philadelphos whom he had "mentioned before among the Eponymoi" was "a statue of his sister Arsinoë" (Paus.1.8.6). He also mentions that it was "Ptolemy, son of Berenike (whose daughter was Arsinoë) from whom the Athenians name their tribe", (Paus.1.6.8) therefore Philadelphos must be the Ptolemy Pausanias was referring to since Philadelphos married his sister Arsinoë (for points of history see Volkmann, *RE* XXIII,2,1659-66).

There are a number of coin portraits of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (*Plate 43, bottom*; Richter, (1984):231; Svoronos, no.603ff, 934, etc.; Kyrieleis, *supra* (1975):17-18). He is shown with his wife Arsinoë on the reverse while his son and his wife Berenike are on the obverse. Ptolemy II has large open eyes and has features like his father. He has curly hair and side burns which reach his jaw. His face is soft and his features closely resemble those of his sister Arsinoë II. Some Greek style portraits of him survive but their identity is not assured. Two portrait statues of him in Egyptian style are known which have inscriptions identifying the image as that of Philadelphos, but they are stylised and so the identity is indicated by the hieroglyphic inscription on the back pillars rather than individual features on the sculpture (Vatican inv.32, Bianchi, *supra* (1988):48-49; Strasbourg, inv.1585, B.V.Bothmer, *ESLP* no.96).

5.5 Hadrian Basileios

Bibliography W.Dittenberger, "Die Attischen Archonten zwischen Ol.122-130," *Hermes* 2 (1867):288; B.W.Henderson, *Life and Principate of the Emperor Hadrian* (1923); MacMullen, (1959):209; Strack, (1933); F.G.Millar, *Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford (1964):60ff; Price, (1984):69,216; Clinton, (1989a):56-68; H.Karapa-Molisani, Πρακτ. 8th Congress 2:308-11; Boatwright, (1994):426-31.

Commentary: Pausanias also names Hadrian as being one of the later Eponymoi. His tribe name often heads the lists in inscriptions, although there appears to be no further

attempt at putting the other tribes into any order (*IG* II² 3116-119; *IG* II² 2051, 2052, 2065, 2067, etc...). Prior to Hadrian's inclusion there had been two distinct orders one from 307-266, and another from 266-200 (as Dittenberger, *supra* (1867):288). A discussion of Hadrian's image has been made elsewhere (see Index s.v. Hadrian).

Pausanias' obvious respect for Hadrian is made clear throughout his *Description of Greece*, and here is no exception for Pausanias mentions that Hadrian showed most honour towards religion and gave everybody happiness (Camp, p.191; on points of history see Millar, *supra*(1964):60ff; Henderson, *supra* (1923); (1994):426-31; Clinton, (1989a):56-68; Hadrian's enthusiasm and extent of travel is discussed by Arafat, (1996):159-164, see also *Introduction* s.v. *Hadrian*). An example of Hadrian's philhellenism is embodied in his many dedications to the Greek gods.

In acknowledgement of his philanthropy in AD 112, Hadrian was elected archon at Athens. He had travelled the provinces for the greater part of the years 120-131. During this time, he instituted many building works, and there was a stable economy and good defence. In AD 128, he visited Athens, dedicated the *Olympieion* and received the title Olympios himself. He had also travelled throughout the provinces. Evidence that he and his policies must have been popular comes from the fact that over 100 altars and statues have been found dedicated to Hadrian in Athens alone (Benjamin, (1963):57-86; for instance: *SEG* 41 (1991)143.1, line 10 possible reference to inaugurating the games: Ὀλυμπιάδι πρώτῃ[.... see Karapa-Molisani, *supra*: 2:308-11, for a photograph; *IG* II² 3966a, from the Akropolis; *IG* II² 3841, from the Akropolis; EM 3260 and 4046, unknown provenance; inscription on a pedestal found between the Propylaia and the Parthenon, *IG* II² 3314; Price, (1984):69,216; and elsewhere: MacMullen, (1959):209).

Pausanias emphasises Hadrian's non-belligerent attitude, but remarks that he subdued the Hebrew rebellion (see Musti and Beschi, (1987):280, for a good account, including sources). There was a revolt in AD132-5, which probably arose when Hadrian built a Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple at Jerusalem, and when he prohibited circumcision. The area came under the jurisdiction of a consular legate with two legions and became a new colony, moving some Jews from Judaia (Justa, (1914): *passim*).

8.2 Amphiaraos

Bibliography: Pollitt, (1990):212-213, pl.9; B.Petrakos, *Τό Ἀμφιάρειο τοῦ Ὀρωποῦ* Athens (1992); Robertson, (1992) Pl.204; C.Löhr, "Die Statuenbasen in Amphiareion von Oropos," *AM* 108(1993):79.

Commentary: After the images of the Eponymous Heroes Pausanias saw statues (*agalmata*) of gods. The first of these is Amphiaraos. Foundations of bases along the road in front of the Metroon, the Bouleuterion and the Zeus Stoa, have been found, revealing that this area was populated by a number of statues which supports Pausanias' description. Diogenes is described as having gone around the statues in the Agora which implies that there were a cluster of them together (*Index s.v. Kerameikos*). Further to this, benefactors were rewarded with bronze statues of themselves in the Agora (Aristeides 53.23), which again implies that there must have been a number of statues somewhere in the Agora. The statue of Amphiaraos was probably dedicated in Athens by people or priests of the sanctuary of Oropos (also Musti and Beschi (1987):285).

Amphiaraos, although a hero, was also described in terms of a deity (Farnell, (1921):58ff; *LIMC* I, 701, I.Krauskopf). Pausanias mentions that Amphiaraos was made into a god by the people of Oropos. Amphiaraos had a sanctuary there which consisted essentially of a third-century theatre, a stoa, a fifth-century temple and a spring (Löhr, *supra* (1993):79; *Plate 34*). He also shared his altar and sanctuary with other deities, for instance Hygieia (Paus.1.34.4). Amphiaraos was credited with having healing powers and as such was thought of as a type of Asklepios which his iconography reflects (*LIMC* I, s.v. Amphiaraos nos.51-57). A relief from the sanctuary shows Amphiaraos tending the shoulder of a male patient, while another male lies behind him on a bed where a snake bites his shoulder (Petrakos, *supra* (1992):22, fig.14). The images from Oropos reveal his iconography which was most likely reflected in his statue at Athens. As in other healing cults, patients would dedicate images of that part of their body which had been cured (Petrakos, *supra* (1992):19, fig.10).

A fourth-century under life-size male marble statue was found at the Amphiareion at Oropos, which may have been the same type as the one dedicated at Athens (*Plate 34 right*; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amphiaraos no.54, pl.563). He leans on a staff propped under his left arm. He wears a *himation*, but his upper torso and right arm are bare. A snake curls upwards to his left, which further encourages the association with Asklepios (another statue of him from the sanctuary: Oropos Museum, Petrakos, 120, nr.9; *LIMC* I, s.v. Amphiaraos no.55; Petrakos, *supra* (1992):20, fig.12). He also had a sanctuary at Rhamnous, where an Attic marble head was found (*LIMC* I, s.v. Amphiaraos no.82). It dates to the second half of the fifth century. Like other images of him he wears a short beard.

Amphiaraos received so many dedications at Oropos that one may suppose the level of his perceived success to be high (Petrakos, *supra* (1992), 38-39, fig.29 and *passim* for details of a number of inscribed bases). I studied a number of these on site,

thanks to the patience of the Greek Archaeological authority. Many of the bases each received a number of inscriptions over a period of years; some span more than a century. Many date to the third century, which may also have been the date the statue of Amphiaraos was dedicated in the Agora.

Earlier images of Amphiaraos include the relief on the throne of Apollo at Amyklai, dedicated by Bathykles of Magnesia, near Sparta (Paus.3.18.9-19.5). This dates to the middle of the sixth century. Amphiaraos is shown with Lycurgus, being restrained from fighting by Adrastus and Tydeus. The Temple of Athena Alea in Tegea, Arkadia, also had Amphiaraos in its pediment, and this dates to the middle of the fourth century (Paus.8.45.4-7).

Amphiaraos was the son of Oikles according to Pausanias, although there was another tradition that he had in fact been the son of Apollo (*LIMC* I, 691-693, I.Krauskopf; Paus.8.45.7; Hyg. *Fab.*70). He is attributed with the gift of prophecy and had an oracle at Thebes (Paus.1.34.2; Hdt.8.134). Pausanias says that Amphiaraos was more a dream interpreter, which is supported by the fact that there was a dream oracle at Oropos.

8.2 Eirene bearing Ploutos.

Bibliography: Lippold, (1923):34; Rizzo, (1932):4, pl.4.2; K.Schefold, *Jdl* 52 (1937):37, (fig.3,4); Lacroix, (1949) pl. 26, no.8-10, also p.296; Lippold, III 1(1950):224, fig.1; Deubner, (1962): 85f; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, (1964):147, pl.DD9; K.H.Kroll, *Hesp.* 42 (1973):328-29; E.La Rocca, "Eirene e Plutos", *Jdl* 89 (1974):112-36, list: p.113; H.Jung, "Zur Eirene des Kephisodot," *Jdl* 91 (1976): 97-134; T.H.Price, (1978):62; E.Simon, "Eirene und Pax: Friedensgöttinnen in der Antike", *SbFrankfurt*, 24 (1988): 59-64; Clinton, (1992): 49-61, 81-84, 91-96, 103-4.

Commentary: Pausanias saw a statue of Eirene bearing Ploutos next to or near the image of Amphiaraos. The cult of Eirene is attested at Athens from the later 5th century, for instance bloodless sacrifice was offered to her from the late 5th to the middle of the 4th century (Schol.Ar.Pax.1019; Deubner, (1962):37ff; Price, *supra*(1978):108, n.47; *IG* II² 1358; *IG* II² 1496, col. 4, line 94 sacrifice to Eirene in Hekatombaion, 333/2; *IG* II² 3741 line 29:...θυσίας τῇ Ειρήνῃ..., and frag. c line 5: ...θυσίας τῇ Ειρήνῃ..., date 333/2-332/1). An altar to her was known to have stood in the Agora (Kim.13.5: φασὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸν Ειρήνης διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ιδρύσασθαι καὶ Καλλίαν τὸν πρεσβεύσαντα τιμῆσαι διαφερόντως). The altar may have been near the statue seen by Pausanias.

Ploutos and Eirene together symbolised the ideal state ([Herod.] *Vit. Hom.* 465). With Peace comes wealth, the land can be tilled, able bodied men work the land rather than battle and enjoy the fruits of their labour. Trade can flourish bringing economic wealth (Simon, *supra* (1988): 59-64). The sculptor Kephisodotos is known to have made a bronze group of Eirene and Ploutos (*Plate 35, top*; *LIMC* III, s.v. Eirene no.8; Price, (1978):62). The images of "Peace and Wealth" were supposed to have commemorated the peace between Athens and Sparta (375/4) and since Kephisodotos was active around 372 (Plin. *NH.*34.50) it suggests that he was the sculptor who made the statues Pausanias saw in the Agora. There are a number of free-standing copies and reliefs of one type of Eirene and Ploutos believed to be the group of Kephisodotos. Eirene wears a long *chiton*, holds her sceptre in her right hand and tilts her head towards Ploutos held on her left arm (the copies are listed in Jung, *supra* (1976): 97-134, rearranged by La Rocca, *supra* (1974): 113). Further representations of this type are also seen on Panathenaic prize amphorae and coins (*LIMC* III, s.v. Eirene no.4; Kroll, *supra* (1973):328-29; *LIMC* III s.v. Eirene no.6; cf. later representations of Ploutos, e.g., *LIMC* VII, s.v. Ploutos no.22, and 19; cf.9.16.1, Tyche and Ploutos). Ploutos, in at least one copy, holds a cornucopia, the very symbol of himself (Rizzo, (1932), pl.6 and 7). A replica of the Ploutos comes from Istanbul (La Rocca, Nr. 12; Lippold, III 1(1950):224, fig.1). The best copy is generally thought to be that in the Glyptothek in Munich (219, BrBr 43). It was originally from Delos (Mayence and Leroux, *supra* (1907):400ff, fig.7; Lippold (1923):34).

Ploutos was considered to be the son of the Titan Iasion and Demeter, who had slipped away at Kadmos and Harmonia's wedding, and had lain with each other in a field which had been ploughed three times where she conceived (Hes.*Th.*969-974; Hom.*Od.*v, 125-128). The fact that the field was supposed to have been well tilled, lays the ground for the product of their union on it to be connected with produce, success and wealth: the desirable yield and return from the land. Initially the cult of Ploutos reflects this, since he is associated with agrarian gain, hence his connection with Demeter and his importance in the Eleusinian mysteries (Deubner, (1962):37f, 85f; Hes.*Th.*969ff; Hom.*Hymn to Dem.* 488-9; cf. Clinton, *supra* (1992): 49-61, 81-84, 91-96, 103-4). It is only later that he comes to represent general wealth. To Aristophanes he is blind, with the obvious connotation that the bestowing of wealth is haphazard, often seemingly unfair, which lays the ground for full comic exploitation (Ar.*Plut.* 90, also schol. Ar.*Ach.*532; cf. Hipponax, West, (1980):fr.36). The fact that Ploutos is often shown as a very small boy, is indication enough of his apparent undisciplined and irresponsible granting of wealth. The implication of Eirene and Ploutos' relationship being "parent and child" comes from the fact that he was born from Peace (cf. the goddess Kourrotrophos whose worship has links

with Mother goddesses and who had her own cult in Athens; she may also be connected with the Eirene of Kephisodotos, *IG I³ 1060*= *EM6720*: *horos*: [K]ορο[τ]ροφ--; c.500-450, found near the Propylaia; cf. *IG II² 4756, 4757*; *Eur.Bacc.275*; *Ar.Th.295ff*; Price, *supra* (1978):101). In the copies of the Kephisodotos group, her head tilted towards the boy she holds on her arm, suggests her maternal affection for him (*Bakchyl.frg.4.61-62*; 5th century).

8.2 Lycurgus, son of Lycophron

Bibliography: Richter, (1984):156-57; F.Pejko, *Belleten*, 55 (1991):32.

Commentary: Pausanias saw a statue of Lycurgus in the area near the Eirene and Ploutos. Tradition had it that Lycurgus (c.390-325/4) had inherited his ancestors' goodwill towards the *demos*. This was embodied in various architectural works he commissioned for the benefit of the city (Pejko, *supra* (1991):32; *IG II² 1627, 1672, II.11, 303*). Since his statue stands close to the personifications of Peace and Wealth, and the statue of Kallias, the peace negotiator, it reveals antiquity's perception of him. It was clearly his generosity which led to the erection of a statue of him in the Athenian Agora (another image:Paus.3.14.8).

A decree was passed for the erection of a statue in honour of Lycurgus by the proposer, Stratokles, son of Euthydemos ([*Plut.*] *Vit.X.orat.*:843c,852). It records Lycurgus' goodwill (*IG II² 457, II.2-6*=*SEG 41* (1991):48; ..[ἐπ]ε[ι]δὴ Λυκοῦργος/ Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδης παρ[α]λ[α]βὼν [πα]ρ[ὰ τῶν ἐ[κ] τῆς πόλεως π[α]τ[ρ]ῶν/-ογόνων καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς πόλεως π[α]τ[ρ]ῶν δῆμον εὖ νο[μ]ι[σ]α[ν]...), "...since Lycurgus, son of Lycophron of the Boutadae, received from his ancestors and from his father a good will towards the demos..."; 307/6; Pejko, *supra* (1991):32, II.2-6). This may have been the image set up in the Agora which was seen by Pausanias. A base has been associated with this statue: *IG II² 3776*=*EM 10607* (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):213ff). It reads: [Λυκοῦργος Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδης]. It dates to the end of the 4th century, which is in keeping with the dates of Lycurgus, assuming that it was set up at the end of his career or even posthumously.

Lycurgus was the legendary Spartan law giver, although this was disputed even in antiquity (*Plut. Lyk.1.1*; *Hdt.1.65ff*; Richter, (1984):156). A base now in the Vatican has an inscription which reads: Λυκοῦργου. Most of the portraits from the reverse of Roman coins show him in profile to the right. He wears a beard and they are inscribed Λυκοῦργος (Richter, (1984):157, fig.117). Wooden portraits of him and his sons were also known to have been made by Timarchos and Kephisodotos II, sons of Praxiteles ([*Plut.*] *Vit. X Orat.*, *Lykourgos*, =*Moralia* 843 E-F -852).

8.2 Kallias

Bibliography: Vanderpool, (1973):239-40; A.Giovanni, *Historia* 39 (1990):129-48; H.B.Mattingly, *ZPE* 83 (1990):118-122; *SEG* 40, 6.

Commentary: Pausanias saw a statue of Kallias next to the image of Lycurgus. He does not mention who made this statue in the Agora, but he later names Kalamis as the sculptor who made the image of Aphrodite which Kallias dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis (Paus.1.23.2). A base was found in a house in section Ψ38 in the Agora. It bears an inscription stating that it was dedicated by Kallias and made by Kalamis (*IG* I³ 876=Agora I 5128: [Καλ]λίας/ [ἀνέ]θηκε. / [Κάλ]αμις [ἐπόε]. Raubitschek, (1949):154, no.136; Ionic alphabet, four bar sigma and eta; letters point to a date in the middle of the fifth century). If Kalamis was known to have been commissioned by Kallias once, then it is possible that he worked for the general again, possibly for his own statue.

Kallias was the son of Hipponikos, one of the richest families in Athens, whose nickname was the 'Pit of Wealth' (Plut.*Aristod.*5; Davies, *APF*,258, for his life see Vanderpool, *supra* (1970):239-40). Kallias was also one of the 'all-time diplomats.' He is credited with ending the war between Athens and Persia with Artaxerxes, son of Artaxerxes, the so-called peace of Kallias, c.450/449 at Susa (Hdt.7.151, or Cyprus (Diod.12.4; Hill, Meiggs, Andrewes, (1951), index i, 615, for the earliest evidence). However, the reality of the treaty has been doubted, indeed the fact that the supposed location for the signing of the treaty has two distinct traditions would also imply possible fabrication. Kallias was also a negotiator of the thirty years peace with Sparta (446/5) (Harpokrat. s.v. Ἀττικοῖς γράμμασιν) and was the initiator of the alliances with Rhegion and Leontini (Meiggs and Lewis, (1989):171-75, no.63, lines 8-9: Καλλί vacat/[ας,...: 433/2; Leontini: Meiggs and Lewis, (1989):175-6, no:64, line15 Καλλίας: 433-2; attribution supported by *ATL*, iii,277, following Wade-Gery, (1958):206 (ref. from Meiggs and Lewis, (1989):173). *IG* I³ 52= *SEG* 41 5, financial Decree of Kallias, c.434/3-431, *Prakt.* 8th congress 2.51-56, on the increase in the number of those in the assembly of Athens participating in the administration of cults). Although his role in negotiating peace has been questioned (Musti and Beschi, (1987):286), it must have been founded on some degree of truth, and it was probably such an act of statesmanship which compelled the Athenians to erect a statue of him in the Agora.

8.2 Demosthenes

Bibliography: E.Badian, "Harpalus" *JHS* 81 (1961):31ff; G.L.Cawkwell, *JHS* (1963); Vidal-Naquet, in *Richerche storiche ed economiche in memoria di Corrado Barbagallo*

(1970):401-11; I.Worthington, "The Siting of Demosthenes' Statue", *BSA* 81 (1986):389; P.Carlier, *Démosthène*, Paris (1990):*passim*; P.Oliva, *Eirene* 29 (1993):146.

Commentary: Pausanias saw a statue of Demosthenes near the Ares temple (8.2, 8.4). Demosthenes, of course, is the orator whose dates are 384-322 (Carlier (1990):, review by Oliva, *supra* (1993):146). The statue Pausanias saw was likely to have been the one erected in 280/79 by a decree of Demochares, one of Demosthenes' nephews. There is a tradition that Demosthenes wrote his own elegiac couplet, which was later written on the statue base by the Athenians:

"If you had strength equal to your beliefs, Demosthenes,
The Macedonian Ares would never have ruled the Greeks."
([Plut.] *Vit. X Orat.* = *Moralia* 847 A).

The statue stood near the altar of the Twelve Gods near the place called *perischoinisma*, "place roped off" (Alkiphron. *Epist.* II,3). Since the Altar of the Twelve Gods has been identified from the inscription found *in situ* Pausanias must have walked to the north of the Ares temple in order to see the Demosthenes (*Plates 13 top, 56 bottom*). A tree was also known to have been planted near the statue of Demosthenes, although Pausanias does not mention this (Plut. *Kimon*, 13). The siting of Demosthenes' statue so close to the statue of Lycurgus was deliberate, since when Demosthenes was in exile he wrote to the Athenians to plead the case of Lycurgus' children who were being persecuted by Menesaechnus. As a result of his supplication the children were let off ([Plut.] *Vit.X.Orat.* 842E). Since Pausanias' description reflects the order in which he saw them, the fact that the statues he mentions near the Eirene and Ploutos are also in chronological order, must mean that the statues had originally been set up next to one another in date sequence (Worthington, *supra* (1986):389).

Demosthenes' portrait is known from at least fifty copies, including three statues (*Plate 35, bottom*; Richter, (1984):109), the head in the Ashmolean Museum being the best preserved (*Plate 35, bottom middle*; Richter, (1984):109-111, no.73). His seriousness is captured by the artist, not least by his overhanging eyebrows which are knitted together across his nose with a frown. His eyes are quite close and deep set. His moustache softens what otherwise would have been a rather austere expression. His beard is short and meets his hair line at his ears.

It is known that Polyeuktos made a statue of Demosthenes in bronze with his fingers interlaced (Plut. *Vit. Dem.* 31.1). There are full-length copies extant which support this description, for instance the excellent one in Copenhagen (*Plate 35, right*; Richter, (1984):112-113, fig.74). His fingers are lightly interwoven, his forearms are held slightly away from his body. The muscles in the chest are not toned, which along with the

facial features suggest that this portrait shows him in his late middle age (Richter, (1984):112, "...between 50 or 60 years old").

Pausanias expresses his dislike of placing one's life in the hands of an impulsive *demos* (Paus.1.8.3), stating that the Athenians forced Demosthenes into exile, even after all he had done for the city. The Athenians forced Demosthenes into exile at Aigina and Troezen in 324 but recalled him after Alexander's death in 323; after Athens' defeat in the Lamian War (322) they exiled him again, and he fled to the island of Kalauria, off Troezen (Badian, *supra*(1961):31ff, and Cawkwell, *supra* (1963)). Pausanias refers only to the last years of Demosthenes' life. The seeming ingratitude of his countrymen, expressed in his sentence probably lead ultimately to his suicide. It also may have been the guilt felt by the Athenians that impelled them to dedicate the statue.

8.4 Hieron of Ares

Bibliography: M.Bieber, "Die Söhne des Praxiteles", *Jdl* 38-39 (1924):242-75; T.L.Shear, *AJA* 40 (1936):196-198; C.Karusos, *Jdl* 52 (1937):172ff; W.B.Dinsmoor, "The Temple of Ares at Athens," *Hesp.*9 (1940):47ff; W.B.Dinsmoor, "The Temple of Ares and the Roman Agora", *AJA* 47 (1943):383-84; *Hesp.* 21 (1951):57ff; H.A.Thompson, *Hesp.* 21 (1952):94ff; P.N.Boulter, *Hesp.* 22 (1953):141-47; Marcadé, (1953):57, 107; A.E.Raubitschek, "Epigraphical Notes on Julius Caesar," *JRS* 44 (1954):75; M.H.McAllister, "The Temple of Ares at Athens. A Review of the Evidence," *Hesp.* 28 (1959):1-64; H.A.Thompson, "Itinerant Temples of Attica," *AJA* 66 (1962):200; G.Daux, "Deux stèles d'Acharnes," in *Χαριστήριον εις 'Αναστάσιον Κ.Ορλάνδον*, I, Athens (1965):78-90; H.A.Thompson, "The Annex to the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora", *Hesp.* 35 (1966):183; G.Despinis, *Συμβολή στην μελέτη τοῦ 'Αγορακρίτου*, Athens (1971):181ff; Travlos, (1971):104; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):162-65; A.Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere*, Tübingen (1974):94-161; W.B.Dinsmoor, "The Temple of Poseidon: A Missing Sima and Other Matters," *AJA* 78 (1974):211-238; Brinkerhoff, (1978); Shear, (1981):356-77; P.Bruneau, "L'Arès Borghese et l'Arès d'Alcamène, ou De l'opinion et du raisonnement," *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à C.Delvoye*, Brussels (1982):177-99; E.Harrison, in *Archaische und griechische Plastik II*, Mainz (1986):109-117; Camp, (1990):114, 198, 205-06; E.Harrison, "Aphrodite Hegemone in the Athenian Agora", *Akten des XII Internationalen Kongresses für klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988*, Mainz (1990): 346, pl.50.1; M.C.Hoff, "The So-called Agoranomion in Julio-Claudian Athens," *AA* (1994):97-117; Palagia, (1994), n.17.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions a *hieron* of Ares as being near the statue of Demosthenes. From the order of Pausanias' description it is most likely that the re-used poros foundations which lie on an east-west axis to the north of the Odeion belong to a Temple which was probably the one in question (*Plate 36, top*). The foundation blocks rest on a packing of broken stones. It measures about 16m by 34m at the stylobate level. Architectural Pentelic marble at the west end include step and wall blocks, restored cornice blocks, and column drums. One triglyph was inscribed with the letters AO from which it has been tentatively suggested that there were 6 by 13 columns measuring 6.10m in height (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):162; Dinsmoor, *supra* (1940):2). From this example the triglyphs were high and narrow: the ratio of the triglyph width to its height being 1:1.56, which was the same as in the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros (Townsend, (1995):89,n.96). This Doric peripteral temple was built originally in the 430's (Camp, (1990):114; for the problem regarding its original position, i.e. Acharnai, etc., see below). A number of the ceiling coffers have been found with traces of paint on them. The colours were lively: red, blue and bright green. Unfortunately nothing is known about the inside of the cella, although it is thought that at one end stood a pronaos and at the other an opisthodomos (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):164, and n.241).

A three-quarters lifesize youthful wingless female statue is believed to have once been the central acroterion of the temple. She wears a chiton which is shown as if blown back in the wind. She has lost her head and the lower part of her legs (*Plate 36, bottom left*; Camp, (1990):205-06, NM 1732 S676, S679, S870, S1072; Boulter, *supra* (1953):141-147). It has been suggested that she was Hebe, the sister of Ares, but her identity remains unsure (Boulter, *supra* (1953):141-47). Although it is almost certain that the pediment received sculpture, from the strengthening of the pediment floor, no marks are preserved and there are no discernible fragments. It has been suggested that a head found in front of the temple of Ares, may have some from the east side, in which the judgement of Paris was shown (Ath.Ag.S789; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena no.244). A concentration of Pentelic marble relief fragments were also found around the Temple. One fragment has sheep heads from a sacrifice scene, stylistically they date to the 430's (Thompson, *supra* (1952):94f; Harrison, *supra* (1986):109-117; Travlos, (1971):fig144).

Blocks of marble have been found inscribed with Augustan letters which are later than the temple which dates to the 430's (as above). The letters are AP, Δ, E, O, which stand for ἀριστερά, δεξιά, εἴσοδος and ὀπισθόδομος (McAllister, *supra* (1959):47ff; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):163). These letters seem to have been added to aid in the reassembly of the building. It seems then that the temple had been moved from its original location some time in the Roman period and rebuilt in the Agora. Various

suggestions have been made as to where the temple may have originally stood. The Areopagos was one contender, although the site failed to produce any suitable evidence. The area close to the Anakeion was cleared to allow the Roman Agora to be built, and this has given rise to the idea that the Ares Temple may have come from this part of Athens rebuilt in the old Greek Agora during the reign of Augustus, about the time of the Odeion of Agrippa (Agrippa visited Athens c.15BC; Dinsmoor *supra* (1943):383,n.2; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):165; Dinsmoor, *supra* (1940):50ff). The west entrance of the Roman Agora had been dedicated in c.10BC, in honour of L.Caesar. Another possibility is that the temple originally stood at Acharnai, to the north of Athens. Pausanias does not mention a sanctuary of Ares at Acharnai in his description of the outlying area around Athens which seems to indicate that the sanctuary was gone, or indeed had been moved, by the time of Pausanias' visit (as Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):165). An inscription records thanks given to Augustus and Ares by the people of Acharnai (*IG II²* 2953). Was this in response to the removal of a temple of Ares from Acharnai which had been in disrepair, and to honour Augustus for giving it a new lease of life in a prestigious position in the Athenian Agora? It is believed that a marble *simas*, which was used as a repair piece in the Temple of Ares when it was rebuilt in the Greek Agora, had in fact been taken from yet another temple, possibly the fifth-century Temple of Poseidon at Sounion (Dinsmoor, *supra* (1974):211-238). Such re-use of old Classical temples appealed to Roman builders on grounds of economy and style. The positioning of the Temple was characteristic of Roman building planning since its axis is aligned with the Odeion (*Plate 13, top*; Shear Jr., (1981):365). It was probably erected in honour of some Imperial Cult (Raubitschek, *supra* (1954):75; Thompson, *supra* (1966):183; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):163). Since it was most likely moved at the end of the 1st century it ties in with the fact that Caius Caesar, Augustus' adopted son was honoured as the New Ares (*IG II²* 3250; Camp, (1990):115; Dinsmoor, *supra* (1940):49ff; Hoff, *supra* (1994):111). Drusus, son of Tiberius was also referred to as the New Ares (*IG II²* 3257: inscribed statue base; Hoff, *supra* (1994):111; Shear Jr., (1981):362; see Index *s.v.* *Zeus Eleutherios Stoa*, for details of the Roman Imperial Cults in the Athenian Agora). Compare also the moving of buildings in England, for instance Flowton Priory which was moved 70 miles from Ipswich to be rebuilt in Harpenden, Hertfordshire (John Lucas, (1994):50). In this case each brick was numbered to aid its reassembly.

The re-used poros blocks of foundations (6.3m by 8.9m) for a large marble altar were found to the east of the temple (*Plate 37, top*). The altar seems to have been moved with the temple. From the carved moulding the altar was built in the 330's, which post-dates the temple by about one hundred years. Also fragments of four female statues are

considered to have been part of the Ares Altar (*Plate 37 top and middle right*; S1538, 367, 1095, 320, 1459, 870, 679, 1072, 676). A terrace was built along the north and north east sides of the temple, and a hard grey poros bedding between the altar and the temple indicates that this area was paved, probably with marble (Thompson and Wycherley, *supra* (1972):164). It is recorded by the Byzantine writer Kodinos that stelai which had elephants carved on them had been removed from the sanctuary of Ares at Athens and placed in front of the Golden Gate by Theodosios the Less (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):165, n.252). When these stelai had been set up in the Ares temple is an open question, since Theodosios is our only source for this.

Pausanias described a statue of Ares as being by Alkamenes (Plin.*NH* 36.16; 34.49, 72; Paus.5.10.8). Since there have been so many copies of one type of a naked unbearded male wearing an Attic helmet identified as Ares, it is likely that they all represent a well-known image (*Plate 36, bottom right*; *LIMC* II, s.v. Ares no.23, pl.360 "Ares Borghese", Louvre MA 866 (=Ares/Mars no.21); Stewart, (1990):268, pl.401). The statue stands with his weight on his left leg, while his right foot is forward, his right arm hangs by his side. In his left hand originally there may have been placed a spear, although another copy, of which the head has been modelled as a portrait of Hadrian, has a shield in his left hand (*LIMC* II, s.v. Ares, no.21b, Rome Cap.634). The original would have been made in the fifth century, which also ties in with the period in which Alkamenes was active (Plin. *NH* 36.16). It may represent the Ares type seen by Pausanias in the temple in the Agora, although this attribution has been doubted (Stewart, (1990):268, citing Bruneau, *supra* (1982)).

Pausanias says two statues (ἀγάλματα) of Aphrodite stand there. The link between Ares and Aphrodite was immortalised in the *Odyssey* (Hom.*Od.* viii, 266-369). In examples of archaic art Ares was often shown with Aphrodite. On the chest of Kypselos they were shown in the same chariot (Paus.5.18.3; Karusos, *supra* (1937):172ff). An Attic relief shows Aphrodite and Ares together. Aphrodite pours liquid from a jug which she holds in her right hand into a phiale held by Ares' right hand (*LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite no.143, pl.17; Louvre MA 742). Aphrodite's left hand plucks her veil, Ares rests his left hand on his hip. In another relief from Athens a small Nike flies over the head of Aphrodite seemingly in the direction of Ares, symbolic of her winning over Ares (*LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite 144). Yet another instance shows Ares holding his shield in his left hand, while he holds out a phiale to Aphrodite, who stands with her weight on her right leg, and holds the jug in her right hand, at her knee (*LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite no.163, pl.19). Such a service paid to a man would usually be reserved for an hetaira, but this

need not be suggestive of Aphrodite's relations with Ares, since libations are normal between gods.

Pausanias describes two statues of Aphrodite. Two statues believed to be of Aphrodite were found built into a post-Herulian wall near the Library of Pantainos. One of these dates to c.420 (*Plate 37, bottom left*; Camp, (1990):198, S1882). It is of Parian marble and stands just over life-size. Another Hellenistic female statue was also found in the same wall, near the Library of Pantainos, Aphrodite S378 (of which statuette S1192 is a copy; it can be seen from this small figure that Eros once sat on her right shoulder; *Plate 38*). This statue is larger than life-size. She wears a *chiton*, which is tied tight around her torso, over her left shoulder and right thigh she wears a cloak. She has her left hand on her hip, with her fingers spread out (*Plate 38, bottom*), while her right arm is raised high, seemingly to grasp a spear. It may be the other Aphrodite which Pausanias saw there, but since this type of female statue is common in the Hellenistic period as a way of representing various goddesses, it is difficult to decide whether it was Aphrodite (Brinkerhoff, (1978) gives no reference to such a type). But it is in fact highly likely that at least one of these statues came from the Temple, since many fragments of the Temple ceiling were found also built in to the same wall with the statues. It has, however, been suggested that one of these statues had originally stood in the open air sanctuary of Aphrodite Hegemone, Demos and the Graces, which was positioned to the north-west of the Agora (Harrison, *supra* (1990): 346, pl.50.1; cf. Palagia, (1994), n.17).

Also at the *hieron* of Ares Pausanias noted that there was an image of Athena by Lokros of Paros. A torso of Athena has been found in the Byzantine wall, 18m south of the Ares Temple (*Plate 37, bottom right*; LIMC II, s.v. Athena no.244; Ath.Ag.S654, now in the Stoa of Attalos, oppsite column 14; Camp, (1990):206). It has been dated to c.420-10. She wore an aegis which was supported by a strap which ran across her body from just above her left hip diagonally up to her right shoulder. Her left hand rested on her shield on her side, while in her extended right hand she may have held a spear (Shear, *supra*(1936):196-98; Despinis, *supra*(1971):181ff). Bronze snakes were fixed to the aegis. Unfortunately her head is missing and the sculpture is broken off just beneath her waist. An inscription records the building of an altar while the relief shows Athena and Ares together (*IG II²* 2953; it is dated to the third quarter of the 4th century; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):165,n.250; Daux, *supra* (1965):78-90; Thompson, *supra* (1962):200). Athena's iconography presents her essentially as a warrior goddess, hence her connection with Ares. Athena was also worshipped as Athena Areia, and an altar was set up to her in this guise by Orestes on the Areopagus, the Hill where Ares was supposed to have been tried (Paus.1.28.5). In Plataea, her sanctuary was built from the spoils of

Marathon; a large akrolithic *xoanon* with gold overlay, except her hands, face and feet that were of Pentelic marble, was by Pheidias and was described as being only slightly smaller than the bronze Athena (*Promachos*) on the Athenian Akropolis (Paus.9.4.1).

Pausanias also records that there was an image of Enyo there, a work of the sons of Praxiteles, Kephisodotos and Timarchos (they are also credited with making an altar to Dionysos in Boiotia, Paus.9.12.4; Bieber, *supra* (1924):242-75). They were active c.345-290 (Pliny places their *floruit* as 296-93, possibly as a result of his linking them with Lysippos' pupils; Plin. *NH*. 35.51; Stewart, (1990):295). Their skill was praised, as is evident from the large number of commissions they received (Stewart, 295-97; Plin. *NH* 36.24). Enyo implies "Warlike", which ties in with the fact that her image stood in the sanctuary of Ares, the god of War. Their worship was combined at least in the Roman period (*IG II²* 1072, line5: ...ἱερέως Ἀρεως Ἐνυαλίου καὶ Ἐνυοῦς...). Ares himself, in other parts of the Greek world, received the epithet *Enyalios* (at Sparta Paus.3.14.9; Plut. *quaest.Rom.*290d; dogs were sacrificed to him; at Olympia: Paus.5.18.5, Ares Enyalios in armour, leading Aphrodite) and the name is even on a tablet at Knossos, which suggests that the cult had early roots. Unfortunately Pausanias does not give us a description of the statue of Enyo. Enyo along with Pemphredo (literally her name means a "wasp") and Deino (her name of course meaning "terrible") were the three Graiai sisters, who had grey hair, and only one eye and one tooth between them (Hes.*Th.* 270-4; Apollod. 2.4.2). It is known that Enyalios, on the other hand, was represented in chains in Sparta to prevent him leaving the city, just as in Athens, Nike does not have wings so that she cannot fly away from Athens (Paus.3.15.7; cf. 3.20.2; 1.22.4). It is difficult to know whether Enyo was shown in chains in the Ares Temple at Athens, like Enyalios in Sparta. But since Pausanias does not describe this as being a feature of her image then maybe it is safer to assume that she did not have them.

8.4 Herakles

Bibliography: H.A.Thompson, "Area to the North and West of the Temple of Ares. Monument Bases", *Hesp.* 22 (1953):43ff; Bieber, (1977):101; Camp, (1990):95.

Commentary: Pausanias names a number of statues which stood around the Temple of Ares. This first of these is Herakles. Along the north side of the Ares temple are foundations for a number of monument bases. Unfortunately none of them can be identified with any one statue mentioned by Pausanias (Camp, (1990):95; H.A.Thompson, *supra* (1953):43ff). No particular statue can be identified with the image Pausanias saw, although Imhoof-Blumer thought that the Herakles depicted on a coin may have represented this Herakles type. He is naked, his right hand rests on his side,

while his left arm is wrapped in the lion's skin and rests on his club (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, DD XI). But there is no good reason to suppose this to have been the case.

8.4 Theseus

Commentary: Another of the statues which Pausanias saw near the Ares Temple was an image of Theseus. It is possible that this Theseus is shown on a coin, where he stands naked, holding a club in his left hand while his right arm is outstretched (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, (1964):145-46, DD1). There are many images of Theseus from the ancient world, unfortunately which type was seen by Pausanias near the Ares Temple is unknown.

8.4 Apollo Anadoumenos

Bibliography: F.Hauser, *ÖJh.* 8 (1905):44/48; F.Hauser, *ÖJh.* 9 (1906):279-87; F.Hauser, *ÖJh.* 12 (1909):101-103; Lippold, (1950):269; Richter, (1970):pl.784; Camp, (1990):235.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the Apollo as binding his hair with a fillet. The "Apollo diadoumenos" of Leochares has been identified with this image of Apollo (Plin. *NH* 34.79: *Apollinem diadematum*; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon no.242; also Lippold, (1950):269). This is because both are described as wearing a headband (Camp, (1990):235). A copy of a bronze athlete from Delos has also been thought to be a copy of Leochares' statue (*Plate 39 left*; *LIMC* II, s.v. Apollon no.468, pl.220, Ath.NM 1826). The original bronze dates to 420, which is in keeping with Leochares' *floruit*, otherwise the athlete may in fact be a copy of Leochares' Apollo Pausanias saw in front of the Apollo Patroos Temple (*cf.p.99*).

8.4 Kalades

Commentary: Kalades was another of the statues which Pausanias saw near the Ares Temple. Pausanias mentions that it was said that Kalades wrote νόμους. This is generally translated to mean that Kalades wrote laws for the Athenians. But Νόμοι can also be musical tunes. Since no law-writer known as Kalades is known from Antiquity, it may be that Kalades was a composer or musician since he stood near both Apollo and the poet Pindar.

8.4 Pindar

Bibliography: Richter, (1984):176-80, Pl.140,142.

Commentary: Pindar's statue was another image which Pausanias saw around the temple of Ares. Portraits are known of him. One of these is a copy of a bust, in a marble tondo,

dated to c.200AD from the drill work. It was found during an excavation in Aphrodisias in Karia (*Plate 40, top left*; Richter, (1984):176-80). Its identity is assured from the inscription on it: ΠΙΝΔΑΠΟC. Another bust, now in the Capitoline Museum (Stanza dei Filosofi, no. 60), is another replica of the Aphrodisias Pindar, although it had been thought for many years that this had in fact been a portrait of the Spartan commander Pausanias. But the Aphrodisias portrait with its inscription has identified both copies as being busts of Pindar (Richter, (1984):177, pl.140).

A statue of Pindar had originally stood in the Basileios Stoa at least in the fourth century but is not mentioned by Pausanias when he visited the Stoa ([Aeschin.] *Epist.*4.2f). It may have been a victim of the raid Sulla made on Athens. The statue in the Basileios Stoa was known to have been bronze, seated, draped, wearing a fillet and had a lyre and an open book on his knees. A possible adaptation of this statue may be seen in the larger than life statue from the Serapeion in Memphis. The Hellenistic inscription, which unfortunately is no longer legible, has been read as: Πίνδ[αρος?] and Διονυσί[ος ἐποίησεν?] (*Plate 39, bottom right*; Richter, (1984), pl. 142). A standing image of Pindar is also known (once in Ursinis collection, now lost, *Imag.* p.37; Richter, (1984):pl.140) and, although the image is only a small statuette inscribed with his name, it may point to the existence of another image of the poet which was well-known in antiquity (*Plate 39, top right*).

Pausanias knew that Pindar had sung the praises of the Athenians and that it was for this reason that they had set up a statue of him in their Agora. The praise of Athens was sung by Pindar in a Dithyramb (Snell, fr. 76; (64-5)). However he also displays devotion towards his fellow-citizens, the Thebans (*Pyth.* 9 (year 474)).

8.5 Harmodios and Aristogeiton

Bibliography: O.M.Washburn, *AJA* 22 (1918):150; F.Behn, *AA* (1919), col.77ff; Langlotz, (1932), no.515, pl.182; Ch.E.Haspels, *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, Paris (1936):167, p.264, no.39, pl.48.4; B.D.Meritt, *Hesp.*5 (1936):355-528; T.L.Shear, *AJA* 40 (1936):190; T.L.Shear, *Hesp.* 6 (1937):352; H.Friedländer, *Studi italiani di filol.class.* n.s. 15 (1938):89-93; L.Kambanis, *BCH* 62 (1938):76ff; G.Bakalaki, *Wiener Jahresh.* 33 (1941):27-28, fig.13; F.Chamoux, *REG* 57 (1944):152; K.Schefold, *Museum Helveticum*, 1 (1944):189ff; K.Schefold, "Kleisthenes. Der Anteil der Kunst an der Gestaltung des jungen attischen Freistaates", *Mus.Helv.*3(1946):59-93, esp. 62ff.; Lacroix, (1949):239, n.1; Raubitschek, (1949):481-2, 513-4; G.Becatti, "I Tirannicidi di Antenor" *AM* 71 (1956):149-52; E.Langlotz, "Aristogeitonkopf des Antenor" *AM* 71 (1956):149-52; K.D.Schnuck "Die Aufstellung der beiden Tyrannenmördergruppen", *Das Altertum* 5

(1959):142-52; A.B.Breebart, *Einige historiografische Aspecten van Arrianus' Anabasis Alexandri*, (1960); B.Shefton, "Some Iconographic Remarks about the Tyrannicides" *AJA* 64 (1960): 173-9; Pfohl, (1964) n.19; J.Dörig "La tête Webb, l'Harmodios d'Antenor et la problème des copies romaines d'après des chefs d'oeuvre archaïques" *Ant.K.*12 (1969):41-51; Richter, (1970):154-6; Ridgway, (1970): 79-83; S.Brunnsåker, *The Tyrant Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*, Stockholm, (1971); M.Moggi "In merito alla datazione dei Tirannicidi di Antenor," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* I (1971):17-63; Pfohl (1972):22-27; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):155-58; I.Calabri Limentani "Armodio e Aristogeitone, gli uccisori del tiranno, *Acme* 29 (1976): 9-27; Pfohl, (1977):22-7; M.H.Hansen, *Glotta* 56 (1978):198,n.8; Page, (1981)186-9; R.Tölle-Kastenbein, *AA* (1983): 578; J.Day, "The Greek Historians" in *Papers presented to A.E.Raubitschek*:(1985):25-46; M.W.Taylor, *The Tyrant Slayers, The Heroic Image in the 5th century BC. Athenian Art and Politics*, Salem, NH (1991); "Hipparchos and the Classical Rhapsodes" in *Cultural Poetics of Archaic Greece*, C.Dougherty and L.Kurke, eds., Cambridge (1993).

Commentary: Pausanias mentions the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton just before the Odeion (*Plate 40 bottom left*; see *Index s.v. Odeion*). They are labelled the *Tyrannicides*, but this is really a misnomer, since only one of them committed murder and that was of Hipparchos, who was in fact the *brother* of the tyrant Hippias, in 514 (their story is told elsewhere, see *Index s.v. Stoas from the gates*). Shortly after their deed, however, the tyrant Hippias' unpopularity came to a head, which ultimately led to his expulsion from Athens.

When Hippias was expelled, Harmodios' and Aristogeiton's deed began to be represented in art and literature. According to Pliny (*NH.* 34.16-17) it was the first time that the Athenians set up honorary statues in public. They became civic heroes honoured in song and their memory was protected from slander, so high in esteem did the Athenians hold the 'Tyrannicides' (Hypereides, *Against Philidippides*, 3, c.336 "...the people made a law forbidding anyone to slander Harmodios and Aristogeiton, or to make parodies of the songs about them"). Their tomb in the Kerameikos was annually sacrificed to by the *polemarch*, and their descendants enjoyed free meals in the Prytaneion, were given presidencies and were exempt from tax (Isaios, 5 (*Dikaiogenes*), 47, 420-350). Pausanias seems to be our only source to mention two separate groups, and the only source to name Antenor as being the sculptor who made the original statues which were taken by Xerxes (Taylor, *supra* (1991):13). Pausanias in his description of the statues implies that the old and the new images of the Tyrannicides stood next to each other. Antenor was a sculptor apparently not known to Pliny, possibly due to his antiquity

and the fact that he was eclipsed by Kritias and Nesiotes. The murder of Hipparchos occurred in 514/13. Antenor, the son of Eumenes, seems to have been active c.540-500, he was probably chosen because of his ability in executing bronze statues, and such a commission would have required a skilled artist (Stewart, (1990):39, 60). The statues may have been commissioned by the Alkmeonids, or at least they may have played some part in their dedication, since they themselves were later credited with overthrowing the tyrants. There are problems, however, with the history of this period, and Alkmeonid interest may in fact have been limited (Stewart, (1990):60). The statues may have been dedicated after the establishment of Kleisthenic democracy c.510/09 which replaced the rule of Peisistratos or his sons (Stewart, (1990):248; Schefold, *supra* (1946):59-93, esp. 62ff.; cf. Moggi, *supra* (1971):17-63; Becatti, *supra* (1956):149-52; cf. Raubitschek, (1949): 481-82, after 488). Pliny believed that their statues were the first portrait statues to be officially set up at Athens (Plin. *NH*.34.70). Examples of Antenor's work are also known to have stood on the Akropolis (*IG* I³ 628=Akrop.Mus.no.681; "Antenor's kore"; Boardman, (1988):141). The kore stands c.2.15m, dedicated by the potter Nearchos (Stewart, (1990):124). Antenor may also have been involved in the work on the Pythian Temple at Delphi (Stewart, (1990):86-89, 250).

There are no other distinct copies known of a group which are easily identifiable as the Tyrannicides from the Archaic period, compared with the numerous copies of Kritias and Nesiotes' later statue group which are known (see below; Mattusch, *supra* (1994):79; Schnuck, *supra* (1959): 142-52). Antenor's statues may have been *kouroi*, which would explain why there are no identifiable copies of them (Richter, (1984):124). The earlier tyrannicide statues are described as being the "older ones," which also may have this stylistic implication (Taylor, *supra* (1991):14, suggested by M.Robertson, cited by Ridgway, (1970): 82,n.2; Taylor also cites Harrison, (1965):8). It has been suggested that the head in the British Museum, known as the 'Webb Head', could be a Roman copy of Antenor's Harmodios (BM 2728; Langlotz, *supra* (1956): 149-52; Boardman, (1988):Pl.143; Dörig, *supra* (1969): 41-51).

Pausanias remarks that Xerxes took the statues by Antenor, when he seized Athens in 480, when the city was deserted. Pausanias also mentions that it was Antiochos who later sent the statues back (Paus.1.8.5). This would be Antiochos I Soter. There were, however, two other versions regarding who was responsible for restoring the 'Tyrannicides' to Athens: either Alexander or Seleukos. It is difficult to know which is correct. Arrian, also second century AD, wrote a history of Alexander basing his work on Ptolemy's, son of Lagos, accounts of the ruler (Breebart, *supra* (1960)). He twice mentions the fact that Alexander restored the statues, in two separate books

(Arr.*Anab.* 3.16.7; 7.19.2). This tradition was known also to Pliny, and may be direct from some Hellenistic source, although he attributes the statues to Praxiteles (Plin. *NH.* 34.69-70). On the other hand, the tradition that Seleukos was the restorer, comes from Valerius Maximus, early-mid 1st century AD. Valerius had accompanied a friend on his governorship in Asia. He must have heard all manner of local versions of history, which may account for the Seleukos version (Val.Max. 2.10 ext. 1). Valerius' work, full of rhetorical exempla, is littered with moralistic allusions and outright flattery aimed at Tiberius, and as such seems a trite handbook for rhetoricians. Pliny used Valerius' work, and may have known the tradition that Seleukos returned the statues to Athens, but this is not referred to here by Pliny, so it is not certain. The Seleukos tradition seems not to have been known by Pausanias, even though elsewhere he attributes Seleukos with returning an image of Apollo which had been taken by Xerxes (Paus.1.16.3; 8.46.3). Since Pausanias thought Seleukos to be one of the most just and devout kings (Paus.1.16.3) the fact that Pausanias mentions the return of the bronze Apollo to illustrate this is surely enough to suggest that if Pausanias had known of a tradition that Seleukos returned the statues of the tyrannicides he would have made this known. Whoever should be credited with the return of the statues, it is important to note that the literary tradition places it in the hands of one of the Hellenistic rulers, which may imply propagandist motivation.

The re-making of the Tyrannicides by Kritias and Nesiotes probably occurred in 477/6 (*IG XII⁵* 444-*Marm.Par.* A.54, *FGH* 239; Diod.11.41.1; Plut. *Themistok.* 5.5; Taylor, *supra* (1991):15; at least after Hipparchos was ostracized in 488/7, *Ath.Pol.* 22.4; Raubitschek, *AJA* 44 (1940):58,n.2 and (1949):481-83; after Corssen, *RE* 22 col.305; but compare Brunnsåker, (1971):97, followed by Taylor, *supra* (1991):14). Pliny places the *floruit* of Kritias and Nesiotes as late as 448-445 (Plin. *NH.* 35.49-50), which would mean that they worked for over thirty years.

Kritias and Nesiotes may not have been working merely in a modeller and caster partnership, since from a scene on a foundry cup two artists are both involved in the final finishing stages of the sculpture, suggesting equality (Attic rf. cup, from Vulci, c.490; East Berlin, Staatliche Museum 2294; Stewart, (1990):251, pl.226). Kritios' and Nesiotes' bronze statues of the Tyrannicides are known only from Roman copies. The best preserved marble pair are now housed in the Naples Museum (*Plate 40, bottom left*; Stewart, (1990): pl.227-31; Richter, (1984):124-25, fig.86a). The head of Aristogeiton (the bearded man) in this copy is the best preserved example of his image (also seen on Panathenaic Amphorae, Washburn, *supra* (1918):150; vase from the Villa Giulia, rf. oinochoe, Bakalaki, *supra* (1941):27-28, fig.13). A plaster cast of Aristogeiton's head was found at Baiae, which is believed to have been taken direct from the original in Athens

(Plate 40, top right; Ridgway, *supra* (1970):296, pl.14; Stewart, (1990):25, 135, pl.230). The best copy of the head of Harmodios is now in the Conservatori, Rome (Richter, (1984):126, figs.86, 87; Lacroix, (1949):239,n.1, bibliography; Chamoux, *supra* (1944):152; Schefold, *supra* (1944):189ff; Mattusch, (1994):74; Brunnsåker, *supra* (1971):*passim*; Haspels, *supra* (1936):167, p.264, no.39, pl.48.4; Stucniczka, *supra* (1906):548, pl.I,7).

Their differing personalities were successfully rendered by the sculptors. From a late description of Harmodios, holding a sword, we can identify which 'tyrant slayer' is which (Papyrus Berlin, 13045, Fr. ii, lines 315-18 (ed. Kunst, 1923), 3rd century AD: "...μετὰ χειρὸς ἔχων | τὸ ξίφος, προβεβλήμενος, γυμνός: "holding a sword, advancing, naked;" cf. Calabri Limentani, *supra* (1976): 9-27). Harmodios is unbearded, and holds the sword over his head, while Aristogeiton has a long beard, and has his left arm covered with a *chlamys* (Stewart, (1990):227-31). Aristogeiton is older and has thought to use his cloak as his shield, while Harmodios appears reckless and spirited, rushing in with his body exposed and his arm raised (Stewart, (1990):135-36). Most frequently they stand one behind the other (Panathenaic vases: *CVA* I, III, Hf, pl.6; and one in Hildesheim, Behn, *supra* (1919), col.77ff). There is at least one instance where they stand opposite one another (Stamnos, *ARV*² 256.5, Martin von Wagner Mus., Würzburg, L.515; date:470; Langlotz, (1932): no.515, pl.182).

It was popular for other heroes to be represented in similar poses to the 'Tyrannicides', for instance Theseus when fighting Prokrustes (Attic bf. lekythos, Athens, NM 515, c. 490-80; H.A.Shapiro, in Coulson, Palagia, et al. (1994)). Since the attitude of the tyrannicides was so easily recognised, the iconography could be manipulated to suit political ends. For instance Theseus is shown on a cup by the Kodros Painter, in a pose similar to the tyrant murderers, attacking a sow (Boardman, (1989):pl.240). This of course would have had political repercussions at the time the cup was made, although the attitude had become generic and had appeared before this group, often being used as on the Kodros painter's cup, for Theseus. The stances of the tyrannicides were also exploited to demonstrate an individual's military skill and daring, for instance Kallimachos, in the south frieze of the Nike Temple on the Akropolis, was shown in Harmodios' pose (Stewart, (1990):165-66, pl.227, 415-16).

Pausanias mentions only the sculptor 'Kritias' as being responsible for the later statues, in fact he never mentions Nesiotes in conjunction with Kritias, although it is known that the two worked on many pieces together. In the manuscripts of Pausanias Kritias is written with an alpha, the same spelling known to Pliny and Lucian (*NH*.34.49, fl.460's; *NH*.34.85: ...*Dionysodorus Critiae discipulus*...; note the genitive of the

sculptor's name makes this very clear, for corruption from *Critii*, would be difficult; Lucian *Rhet. Praecep.* 9; Stewart, (1990):251-52). In inscriptions, however, the sculptor's name is always spelt the same, with an omikron: Kritios. Two inscriptions have been found on the Akropolis which bear both sculptors' names. One of these is a dedication by Epicharinos found between the Propylaia and the Parthenon (*IG I³ 847*: Ἐπιχαρίνος ἀνέθεκεν—/ Κριτίος καὶ Νησιώτες ἐποίησάν τε//; The inscription is now so mutilated that the text is based on earlier readings; Raubitschek, (1949):124, no.120). The other inscription is the signature of the two sculptors (*IG I³ 846 II*: [Κρ]ιτίος· καὶ Νε[σιώ]τες ἐποίησάν τε]; Attic letters, three bar sigma: dates between c.475-465; Raubitschek, (1949):418, no.161a).

The closeness of the statues of Pindar and Kalades suggests that the statues in closest proximity to the 'Tyrannicides' and the Odeion were on a musical theme (Tim. *Lex. Plat.* s.v. ὀρχήστρα; and Phot. s.v. ὀρχήστρα: the images of Harmodios and Aristogeiton stood in the orchestra). There is also an implication in Aristophanes that they would have stood near the chorus leader (*Ar. Lys.* 633). Why were the tyrannicides so placed? They are recorded as having stood opposite the Metroon, which may imply that at least originally they were associated with that building, i.e. the building of law, ancient custom and of course democracy (*Arr. Anab.* 3.16.8). Thus the positioning of the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton became a poignant reminder of the tyrannical past Athens had endured, and the courage displayed by two men in their attempt to remove that element of dictatorial government. As said above, the motif of the actual tyrannicide became disjointed and manipulated later, away from what it had originally been: a lover's and brother's act of revenge on an arrogant and conceited man (see *Index s.v. Leokoreion*).

There was a tradition that Simonides was the author of the epigram which was inscribed on the base of the statues (Simonides, fr.131, F 76 (Diehl)). Scholars have been divided on the issue as to whether he was the poet responsible or not (Meritt, *supra* (1936):355-528, claims that he was not). Those who maintain that it was by Simonides cite the fact that Simonides had been the 'blue-eyed' boy of Hipparchos. The poet supposedly wanting to do something to remove himself from the awkward situation he was left in after Hipparchos was killed, wrote the poem in order to disconnect himself (Shear, *supra* (1937):352; also Taylor, *supra* (1991):16-18, 32-33, who believes the epigram to have been composed by Simonides after the Persian War).

A small fragment of the base was found in the Agora inscribed with a quatrain, which preserved the name Harmodio[s] (*IG I³ 502=Agora I 3872*; two fragments of Pentelic marble, Attic letters, 477/6; *SEG* 10:320; *SEG* 42 (1992):33; B.D.Meritt, *Hesp.* 5

(1936):355ff; Raubitschek, (1949):514; Page, (1981):186-9; Pfohl, (1964):18-19, n.19; id. (1977), 22-7; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):155-58, pl.79a; [Plut] *vit.X orat.* 833b). The whole inscription was restored by a late Greek grammarian to read: "A great light shone for the Athenians when Harmodios and Aristogeiton slew Hipparchos" (Camp, (1990):238).

It had been decreed in antiquity that no other statue should be set up near the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton (*IG II² 646*: lines 37ff: *στήναι δ' αὐτοῖς/ τὸν δῆμον καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῇν ἐν ἀγορᾷ/-ι πλὴν παρ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ τοὺς Σωτῆρας* "In honour of Herodoros? and his descendants and may set up a bronze image of him in the Agora, except beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the Saviours"; date: 450; cf. *SEG* 16 497, ll.11-14 from Chios). This was adhered to, until the statues of Demetrios and Antigonos in a chariot were set up beside the Tyrannicides (Diod. 20.46). It is likely that they were removed in the *damnatio* period, when their statues may have been taken down from the group of the Eponymoi in the Agora (see *Index s.v. Eponymoi*). Pausanias describes the images of Harmodios and Aristogeiton as being οὐ πόρρω, ("not far from") the other statues. Pausanias uses this phrase to indicate that the next monument he is about to describe does not stand adjacent (see *Conclusion*). Thus Pausanias' description of the location of the Tyrannicides is in keeping with the law known to prevent the setting up of other statues near their images.

8.6 Odeion

Bibliography: W.Dörpfeld, "Die verschiedenen Odeien in Athen", *AM* 17 (1862):252-260; T.L.Shear, *Hesp.* 5 (1936):6ff; H.A.Thompson, "The Odeion in the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 19 (1950):31-141; H.A.Thompson, *Hesp.* 22 (1953):38ff; Travlos, (1971):365-77; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):111-114, pl.58-61; Shear Jr., (1981):356-77; Frantz, (1988):95-116.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions a building called the Odeion, after the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. In fact it was built on the very axis of the Agora. Shear has pointed out that it was the Roman "centrepiece" of the Agora area (Shear Jr., (1981):361). This is hard to imagine now since all the trees obscure the impression of the building. The positioning of the building can be seen and the impression it must have made when it dominated the centre of the Agora. The Odeion was dedicated by Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus, and the building was known as the "Agrippeion" (Philostratus, *Vit.Soph* 2.5.4; 8.3-4). Agrippa visited Athens in 15, and a re-dedication of an Hellenistic bronze statue was made in his honour on the pedestal beside the Propylaia

(*IG* II² 4122; *IG* II² 4123, Dinsmoor, *AJA* 24 (1920):83ff). The inscription read "The people dedicate this to Marcus Agrippa, third time consul" in 25 (Travlos, (1971):483).

There was an entrance to the Odeion to the south, from the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa, the north façade of the small portico, although it may also have been possible to enter on the north side (*Plate 41 top*; Camp, (1990):72/74). The building had a marble auditorium. The ruins of the Odeion seen by Pausanias are covered by what seems to have been a Palace dating to c.400AD. This later building had baths, courts and gardens. This building was abandoned in the sixth century AD.

The orchestra was not quite a semi-circle, with slabs of varicoloured marble (*Plate 41, middle*). Only one marble seat of the lowest row is preserved, although there are traces of other rows. The span was 25m and could seat about a thousand. The roof had no internal supports and must have been a technological marvel (Camp, (1990):122). To the south column stumps of the lower storey remain. It had a two storey portico and an upper balcony. The building was damaged in the middle of the second century AD, when the roof collapsed. It was rebuilt very soon after and a cross wall was added to support the new roof, which unfortunately meant that it cut the auditorium in half along with the seating capacity (Camp, (1990):123). This second phase was built by Herodes Atticus in memory of his dead wife (Philostratus, *Vit Soph.*2.5.4, 2.8.4; *Hesp.* (1950):31ff). The north front was remodelled, with the removal of the small porch and the scene building at the north turned in to the portico. Giants and tritons (S1214), originally three of each, were set up as supports for the architrave of the portico and other sculptural ornaments were added (*Plate 42, top*; Camp, (1990):fig.70). Pausanias did not know of this later building until after he had completed his description of Attika (Paus. 7.20.6). This also suggests that Pausanias revisited Athens.

The stage was supported by alternate green marble slabs which were positioned between male and female herm heads (*Plate 42, bottom*; Harrison, (1965):139-40, nos.219-225). There was enough space for seventeen herms (Thompson, *supra* (1950):68). Extant are heads representative of two different types, although it has been suggested that there may have been eight or even nine different types (Harrison, (1965):139-40). Classical type female heads (nos. 219-220) appear elsewhere as the head of a sphinx. One of these Herm heads (no. 221) has been burnt. It is male, has short hair which is bound with a fillet. Another head (no.222) has a smiling face characteristic of the Hellenistic-Roman type, it also has a fillet, which is low on its forehead, it may be one of Dionysos' followers (Harrison,(1965):140; Thompson, *supra*(1950):64-68; Travlos, (1971):fig.487).

The Odeion held the musical competitions which Perikles introduced in the Panathenaic festivals, including flute, singing and *kithara* contests. It was set up close to the area where the poet and composer statues were dedicated. Inside, Pausanias saw a figure of Dionysos, although no particular type has been associated with it.

8.6 Statues of Egyptian Kings

Bibliography: H.Volkman, *RE* XXIII 2 (1959):1738ff; B.V.Bothmer, (1960); P.Mingazzini, "Una Copia dell' Alexandros Keraunophoros di Apelle," *Jahrb.der Berliner Museen* 3 (1961):7-17; H.Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, Berlin (1975); A.Krug, "Die Bildnisse Ptolemaios' IX, X und XI," in Maehler and Strocka, (1978):9-24; K.Parlasca, "Probleme der späten Ptolemäerbildnisse," in Maehler and Strocka, (1978):25-30; H.Maehler, "Egypt Under the Last Ptolemies," *BICS* 30 (1983):8-10; Richter, (1984):236m fig.217a-d; N.Marinone, *Berenice da Callimacho a Catullo*, Rome (1984); D.J.Thompson, "Pausanias and the Protocol: the succession to Euergetes II", in *Egitto e società antica*, Milan (1985):693-701; R.Bianchi, *Cleopatra's Egypt*, (1988); A.B.Bosworth, *Cl. Phil.* 84 (1989): 160; C.Errington, *Geschichte Makedoniens, von den Anfängen bis zum Untergang des Königreiches*, Oxford (1990); Commissaire de l'exposition Philippe le Leyzour, *Les Bérénices, textes et figures*, Paris (1992); P.Oliva, *Eirene* 29 (1993):148, rev. of J.Heinrichs, *Ionien nach Salamis*, Bonn (1989); B.Barr-Sharrar, *AJA* 99 (1995): 546.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions that statues of Ptolemies stood in front of the entrance to the Odeion. Pausanias singles out the names of three: Philometor, Philadelphos and Soter, son of Lagos. Does this mean that there were only three portraits, or was Pausanias being selective in those he chose to name? The fact that Pausanias mentions them, may imply that he actually saw them, but it is difficult to know, and so the question remains open.

Philometor could be Ptolemy VI (as Richter, (1984):234) but Pausanias goes on to recount something of the history of Ptolemy IX Soter II Philometor (Paus.1.9.1), so it is likely that the Philometor referred to by Pausanias at the beginning of this section is Ptolemy IX. Pausanias notes that Philometor is eighth in descent from Ptolemy son of Lagos (Paus.1.3.7-9.3). This is because the son of Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra II who was murdered by Ptolemy VIII in 145, and whom modern historians count as Ptolemy VII (*Neos Philopator*), was not in Pausanias' list. Ptolemy IX and Ptolemy X did not put their own heads on coins they minted, instead they show Ptolemy I Soter I or Zeus Ammon (Krug in Maehler and Strocka, (1978):9-24; Maehler, *supra* (1983):10).

Many clay sealings were found in an archive at Edfu which have two unidentified royal portraits on them. The portraits are likely to be of either Ptolemy IX and X (Richter, (1984):236, fig.217a-d; Maehler and Strocka, (1978):9-13; accepted by R.R.R.Smith (1988):95-97, 167f, cat. nos.57-61). One of the portraits on the seals from Edfu shows a young man wearing either an eagle or a royal diadem as a headdress. The eagle was the symbol adopted by Soter I who founded the dynasty. Ptolemy IX Soter II therefore seems the probable candidate for the Edfu portrait (Maehler, (1983):9-10). There are some portraits in marble and limestone which date stylistically to this period (Krug, (1978):9-24; Parlasca, (1978):25-30). One of these is a marble head in Boston (MFA 59.51), which, it has been suggested, may have been a reworking of an image of Ptolemy X, in order for it to represent Ptolemy IX who returned from exile in 88 to become king once more (*Plate 43, top*; Maehler, *supra* (1983):10; R.R.R.Smith, (1988):96, cat.no.57). A head from Paraitonion (Alexandria 24660) had been fitted with a broad metal diadem, which along with certain features such as the large eyes and the comparison with the portrait from the Edfu seals identifies him as a Ptolemaic ruler, possibly Ptolemy IX Soter II (*Plate 43, middle*; Maehler, (1983):pl.1a; R.R.R.Smith, (1988):97, cat.no.60). Another image of a ruler is a full-size statue from Aphroditopolis (Maehler, (1983):pl.1b= Cairo JE 42891). The black diorite head from the Serapeum at Memphis is also similar to these two portraits (Copenhagen NCG 294). The hair above the forehead is styled in a similar fashion, the eyes are also quite close to one another, and the fact that it had a back pillar suggests that it had been an image of a ruler from Egypt, again possibly Ptolemy IX Soter II (Maehler, (1983):10, against Krug, (1978):18-19, who thought it was Ptolemy XI).

Philadelphos is Ptolemy II, whose history Pausanias recounts elsewhere (see Paus.1.6.8-7.3; see *Index s.v. Later Phylai: Ptolemy Philadelphos* for details of portraits). Pausanias also saw a statue of Philadelphos' sister Arsinoë. Her image is also known from portraits in Egyptian style (Vatican, inv.31, Bianchi, *supra*(1988):48-49; New York Met.Mus.20.2.21, Kyrieleis, *supra*(1975):cat.no. J1). It is possible that the Athenians may have set up Hellenistic-style portraits of Philadelphos and his sister Arsinoë (Kyrieleis (1975):166-67, cat.nos.B1-B10: Ptolemy II Philadelphos, and 78-94, 178-80pl.71-81, cat.nos.J2-J12: Arsinoë II). Their portraits have been identified on coins (for instance *Plate 43, bottom*; Richter, (1984):201, fig.200).

Pausanias mentions that the Athenians also set up a bronze image of Berenike, Ptolemy IX's only legitimate daughter. None of the female royal portrait heads which survive have been identified as being of her. She ruled for only six months after her father died in December 81 or January 80 (Volkmann, 1745-48). There is a problem with

what Pausanias mentions here. Because he describes Berenike (Kleopatra Berenike III) as being Ptolemy's only legitimate child, it implies that Ptolemy had other children who were illegitimate. Also there are chronological inaccuracies: since according to Pausanias Alexander's murder of his mother (Kleopatra III) was discovered, he fled and his brother came back from Cyprus. But Kleopatra III was murdered in c.101, and Alexander was not ousted until 88. Both these points are also in M.Iuniani Iustini *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi*. This survives only in Justin's summary and in his *prologi* (O.Seel, Teubner (1972)). In the prologue to Book 39 he calls Ptolemy XII Auletes "nothus", which confirms what Pausanias says about Berenike being the only legitimate child. It is likely that Pausanias used the same source as Pompeius Trogus, whoever that may have been, which was not accurate on points of chronology at least.

It is known that Ptolemy IX Soter II had two sons, Ptolemy XII Auletes and Ptolemy of Cyprus. Cicero calls the first of these (Ptolemy XII Auletes), the "genuine" Ptolemy (Cic. *Pro Sestio* 57). Also Porphyry of Tyre (*FGH* 260 F 2,12 Jacoby) refers to him as the son of Ptolemy IX. Hölbl, *supra* (1994):195, states that the other children of Ptolemy IX Soter II were illegitimate, and in the family tree in his book (stemma II) he assumes Kleopatra V (Selene) was the mother of two sons by Ptolemy IX, whom he does not name. Ptolemy IX probably had these sons with her after he had been forced to divorce Kleopatra IV. Volkmann, (*supra* (1959):1743, and 1748), thought that Kleopatra IV was the mother of Berenike. An inscription refers to "a son" of Ptolemy IX and Kleopatra Selene, which implies that he was officially seen as a legitimate child (*SEG* IX,5; Volkmann, *supra* (1959):1748). Ptolemy XII had many enemies in Rome as well as Egypt which may account for the offensive claim that he was illegitimate.

2.4 Statues also of Philip and Alexander, Philip's son

Bibliography: M.Bieber, *Alexander the Great in Greek and Roman Art*, New York (1964); Schwarzenberg, "The Portraiture of Alexander," in Reverdin, ed. *Alexander the Great*, Fondation Hardt Entretiens 22 (1976): 268-78; Hinzten-Bohler, (1992):23-32.

Commentary: Pausanias states that statues of Philip and Alexander stood in front of the Odeion. Their statues were elsewhere dedicated next to one another, which is what is expected of statues of father and son (Plin. *NH.* 35.94, Apelles was supposed to have painted them many times), by Euphranor (Plin. *NH.*34.77) and by Antiphilos (Plin. *NH.*35.114, rival of Apelles, 4th century; their statues stood with Athena, which in Pliny's time stood in the Stoa of Octavia in Rome). The different characters of father and son must have been conceived and so represented by the sculptors of each portrait (Schwarzenberg, *supra* (1976):262,n.3).

In Olympia, Leochares also made chryselephantine statues of them (Paus.5.20.9; their statues stood alongside Philip's father, Amyntas). But by far the largest extant recorded representations of either is of Alexander the Great (Alexander Paris, this one was painted by Euphranor, Plin. *NH*.34.77). A portrait of Alexander was painted by Nikias in the Stoa of Pompey (Plin. *NH*.35.130). Apelles is credited with having painted a portrait of him holding a thunderbolt, in the Temple of Artemis in Ephesos (Plin. *NH*.35.92; Mingazzini, *supra* (1961):7-17). Lysippos of Sikyon is known to have made many portraits of Alexander (Plin. *NH*. 34.63). Lysippos is credited with first representing Alexander with his head turned up towards the sky, which has been remarked illustrated the "pride of youth and the self-assurance of an athlete" (Stewart, (1990):51, 188-89, pl.561-62; Schwarzenberg, *supra* (1976):251; Plut. *de Alex. fort. seu virtute*, 2.2.3=*Moralia*335A-B). Lysippos was also said to have been the best at representing Alexander's physical appearance, so much so that Alexander only deemed Lysippos worthy of making his portrait (Plin. *NH*.35.110). Philoxenos of Eretria painted the Battle of Alexander against Darius, of which the Alexander mosaic from Pompeii, now in Naples may be a copy (Stewart, (1990):84-85, pl.591). Aristotle advised Protogenes of Rhodes to paint the exploits of Alexander the Great, because of their eternal influence. According to Pliny, Protogenes' last work was a picture of Alexander and Pan (Plin. *NH*.35.106; Lucian *Her. siv. Aët.*, 4-6, Roxane and Alexander; Barr-Sharrar, *supra* (1995):546).

There is a great amount of literary and sculptural evidence for the portrait of Alexander. The Azara herm is among the most important, although the features are very worn (*Plate 44, top right*; Schwarzenberg, *supra* (1976):251; from Tivoli, Louvre MA 436; Richter, (1984):225, fig.186), because it bears an inscription which reads: "Ἀλέξανδρος Φιλίππου Μακεδ..."

It was found at Tivoli. It has been suggested that this was in fact a copy of an original by Lysippos, who was credited by both Pliny and Plutarch with having made a number of portraits of Alexander (see above). As in other portraits his lips are slightly parted, his head is turned to the right and his hair is shaped into two distinct arched curls above his forehead. The rams horns which are later shown in his hair, although not here (for instance the posthumous coin minted by Lysimachus of Thrace (Richter, (1984):226, fig.189) become an easily identifiable feature of Alexander which is adopted by other rulers, for instance Demetrios Poliorketes (Richter, (1984):228, fig.193). One other important portrait of Alexander, is the marble head which was found near the Erechtheion on the Akropolis (*Plate 44 top left*; Richter, (1984):226, fig.188).

Philip II was king of Macedon from 359 to 336. There are no portrait heads on the coins known to have been issued. There is, however, a tiny image of him riding on horseback (*Plate 44 bottom right*; Richter, (1984):224, fig.183). He wears a hat and a cloak which flies out behind him as he rides on his horse which trots to the left. His beard comes to a point which accentuates this feature, giving him a somewhat half-lunar appearance. In a mosaic from Baalbek, a young man is identified by an inscription which indicates that he is Phil[ip]. The baby is Alexander who is being washed by a nymph (Richter, (1984):224). Philip wears a chlamys and a long sleeved tunic and sits beside Olympias his wife. Although this is the only certain portrait to survive, iconographically, it is not valued highly (Richter, (1984):224).

A gold medallion from Tarsos bears an image of a bearded man (*Plate 44, middle right*; Richter, (1984):224, fig.184). This is likely to be Philip. He wears a band in his hair and a breastplate. The features of his face show him as determined. His head and face is a mass of curls. It is a beautiful and excellently rendered portrait.

9.4 Lysimachus

Bibliography: Havelock, (1981):28.

Commentary: In his comment on the sycophancy of the people who set up statues to Alexander and Philip, Pausanias adds that they also set up a statue of Lysimachus, not out of kindness, but because they thought it would help them in their situation. It may be that this statue stood near the images of Philip and Alexander and since Pausanias digresses at length on his history, it is likely that it was related to an image he saw at that point in his tour. Lysimachos did not use his own portrait, he preferred to use Alexander's instead (Havelock, (1981):20). For instance Lysimachos minted a silver drachm of Alexander struck in 286 and 281 at Magnesia (Havelock, (1981):23, 26).

11.1 Pyrrhus

Bibliography: Havelock, (1981):29, no.8; Richter, (1984): 229-30; J.Seibert, W.Suerbaum, and S.Lücke in Schubert, (1995).

Commentary: Pausanias mentions that the Athenians also have a statue of Pyrrhus, the Molossian king, son of Aeacides. Pyrrhus lived for a time in Epeiros. Pausanias digresses on Pyrrhus' kingship, including his expulsion of Demetrios, and his own later ousting by Lysimachus (11.1-13.9). It is likely that this statue stood near the images of Alexander and Philip, since Pausanias notes that he was not related to Alexander except by common ancestry. Pausanias seems to have felt the need to explain Pyrrhus' statue in relation to Alexander. Such a desire on his part was probably sparked by the confusion Pausanias

may have thought his readers had experienced, on seeing Pyrrhus' statue so close to Alexander's. Pausanias saw another statue of him at Olympia, dedicated by Thrasyboulos of Elis (Paus.6.14.9).

Although no coins are known which bear a portrait of Pyrrhus, a herm from Herculaneum was found which current opinion has considered to be a portrait of him (*Plate 44, bottom left*; Richter, (1984):230, fig.196). The identification is based on the fact that he wears an oak wreath across his Macedonian helmet, which was a symbol of Epeiros, and that it dates to this period on stylistic grounds. His lips are slightly parted. His top lip is curved and is thinner than his lower lip which was characteristic of the Macedonian rulers' portraits, especially Alexander and Demetrios Poliorketes (Richter, (1984): figs.188,193,194).

14.1 Enneakrounos

Bibliography: P.Weizsäcker, "Die Beschreibung des Marktes von Athen und die Enneakrounosepisode bei Pausanias," *Fleckeisens Jahrb.*33(1887):577-612; Oikonomides, (1960):17; H.A.Thompson, *Hesp.* 17 (1948):153ff; Boersma, (1970): 19, cat.98,100; Travlos, (1971):127, 138, 204; J.M.Camp, *The Water-Supply of Ancient Athens*, AnnArbor (1977); S.Walker, *BSA* 74 (1979):247-8; E.J.Owens, "The Enneakrounos Fountain-House", *JHS* 102 (1982):222ff; R.Tölle-Kastenbein, "Kallirhoe und Enneakrounos", *Jdl* 101 (1986):55-73; Tölle-Kastenbein, (1994); C.Lawton, "Federal Document Reliefs from the Athenian Agora," *Hesp.* 64 (1995):123ff; John Ellis-Jones, review *JHS* 116 (1996):226-27; Shapiro, (1995):7.

Commentary: Pausanias notes that "near" (πλησίον) the Odeion is a spring known as the Enneakrounos ("Nine-spouts") decorated by Peisistratos. Since πλησίον, especially in Pausanias, implies that something stood close by, where did the Spring which Pausanias calls the Enneakrounos stand?

The water-supply of Athens is poorly documented, a fact commented on by John Ellis-Jones (*supra* (1996):226-27). As a result the actual location of the Enneakrounos Pausanias described is difficult to ascertain. Thucydides also mentions an Enneakrounos which had originally been called Kallirrhoe. It has been associated with the area known as the old city, south of the Akropolis, which includes the Olympieion (Th.2.15.4:"...in that area of the city are *hiera* of Olympian Zeus, of the Pythian (Apollo), of Earth, and of Dionysos in Limnai..."; Tölle-Kastenbein, *supra* (1986):59ff, Th.2.15.5). Two marble *horoi* were found near the city Asklepion on the south slope of the Akropolis, which mark the boundary of a spring (*IG I³ 1098, c.420 in situ; IG I³ 1099, c.420*; Travlos, (1971):127, 138; Oikonomides, (1964):27-8; *SEG* 41 (1991):126D). It has been suggested

that the spring recorded in the *horoi* was located near the shrine to Pan and the nymphs, see below, and was the *Enneakrounos* mentioned by Thucydides (Walker, *supra* (1979):246). Thucydides stated that the water of the *Enneakrounos* was used in his time to purify people in pre-marriage rituals and before other religious ceremonies. On the south slope of the Akropolis the cult of Nymphē ("bride") was situated. Fragments of black and red-figure nuptial *lebetes*, or *loutrophoroi* were found in this area. Some of the fragments have graffiti or dedicatory inscriptions indicating that they were sacred possessions, some mentioning Nymphē (Oikonomides, (1960):16). The spring mentioned by Thucydides then is either to be located over by the Olympieion or else on the south slope of the Akropolis by the shrine of Nymphē. If either of these positions is correct the *Enneakrounos* mentioned by Thucydides must have been different from the one mentioned by Pausanias since Pausanias was standing over by the city Eleusinion, on the north west side of the Akropolis, when he mentions the *Enneakrounos* he saw.

A fountain-house has been discovered in the south-east corner of the Agora (*Plate 45 top left*; Tölle-Kastenbein, *supra* (1994):73). The plan of this fountain house was aligned on an axis with the Hephaisteion (*Plate 13 top*; Tölle-Kastenbein, (1994):55-73; cf. Shapiro, (1995):7). It has often been suggested that this may be the *Enneakrounos* mentioned by Pausanias. It measures 6.8m by 18.2m. It had a large central room which is flanked by smaller ones. A few blocks of Kara limestone were set in a polygonal style above the foundation level. From the pottery found it dates to 530-20. Its terracotta supply lines and overflow pipes can be traced running from the small chambers at each end. They have heavy collared joints as well as removable lids to ease servicing. The foundations suggest that the west 'room' contained a basin which may have held a reservoir while the spout may have been located at the east end to fill the jars brought to it (Camp, (1992):42; *Ar.Lys.*327ff, where a crowd of noisy women bustle for water at a fountain house). A number of hydriai are decorated with scenes portraying the collection of water from spouts by women or slaves (Tölle-Kastenbein, (1994):88-100, esp.98, fig.165, 166). On some of these vases, spouts are shown on either side of a central pillar (London B334). From the foundations of the south east fountain house, the function of the central 'room' may be apparent. This may have housed the pipes which fed the spouts which may have been fixed on either side of the walls. Pausanias mentions that while there are cisterns (φρέατα) all over the city, the *Enneakrounos* is the only fountain (πηγή).

A late classical fountain house to the south west of the Agora of the 5th/4th century, is larger than the one to the south-east (Tölle-Kastenbein, (1994):74, table of measurements of the south-west, south-east and the Dipylon Spring house). It is L

shaped, like the Dipylon *Krene* (Tölle-Kastenbein, (1994):fig.144). An early 4th-century relief (2495) has been found which may originally have been part of a building document (Lawton, *supra* (1995):125). It was found face down in the Roman Stoa on the south side of the Panathenaic way. Two females are shown at one end with a lever lifting a rock. Another female is shown seated looking up at a thoughtful Athena. It has been thought possible that the women are shown building a fountain house as illustration to the document it would have surmounted (Lawton, *supra* (1995):178).

By Pausanias' time there may have been two fountains which had the same name, although the name of the earlier one over by the south side of the city may have been forgotten. It is, however, possible that the one seen by Pausanias may have received its water from the older Enneakrounos, for it is known that the archaic pipeline took water from the area of the Old Agora on the south slope of the Akropolis to an out of town fountain house (Oikonomides, (1960):17). So it may have been possible that the *Enneakrounos* seen by Pausanias in the Agora was also fed by the older one. It is known that altars and statues all over the Agora were watered by a fountain house known as the 'Enneakrounos' which in this instance may refer to the so-called *Enneakrounos* in the Agora itself (Plut.*Aristeid.*20: βωμὸς αὐτῇ καὶ γὰρ ἄγαλμα κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀγορὰν ἴδρυται). Pausanias adds that it was decorated by Peisistratos, which takes up the tradition that an *Enneakrounos* was dated to the period of Peisistratos or his sons (528/7-511/0; c. 525, Boersma, (1970):19, cat.98,100).

14.1 Naos of Demeter and Kore

Bibliography: A.Breccia, *La Necropolis di Sciatbi*, Cairo (1912):248; Judeich, (1931):287f; Shear, (1939):297; W.K.Pritchett, *Hesp.*9 (1940):97-101; P.Maas, "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩ", *Hesp.*15 (1942):72 =*Kleine Schriften*, Munich (1973):218; McDonald, (1943):143-154; A.E.Raubitschek, *Hesp.*18 (1949):101-03; Vanderpool, (1949):134-36; R.Allen, *The Mutilation of the Herms*, Dissertation, Univ. of Cincinnati; W.K.Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai," *Hesp.* 22 (1953); Marcadé, (1954): 323-44, esp. 336; B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 26 (1957):203ff; E.B.Harrison, "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora", *Hesp.* 29 (1960):371ff; H.A.Thompson, (1960):334-338; Travlos, (1960):66; G.Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteris*, Princeton (1962); B.D.Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesp.* 32 (1963):2-47; P.M.Fraser, (1971):200-201; Travlos, (1971):198-99. R.A.Padgug, "Eleusis and the Union of Attica", *GRBS* 13 (1972):135ff; A.Peschlow-Bindokat, "Demeter and Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts," *Jdl* 87 (1972):60-157; W.B.Dinsmoor Jr., "Anchoring Two

Floating Temples", *Hesp.* 51 (1982):410ff; D.B.Thompson, in Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, (1987):198-283.

Commentary: Pausanias describes two temples as being above the Spring (the *Enneakrounos*; Vanderpool, *supra* (1949):134). One temple was sacred to Demeter and Kore; the other had an image of Triptolemos in it. It seems that these two temples stood outside the so-called Eleusinion since Pausanias was forbidden to describe the contents of the sanctuary after he received a warning not to do so in a dream (see *Index s.v. Eleusinion*). The location of these temples and the sanctuary was long unknown, which led to various suggestions being put forward (Judeich, (1931): 287f).

Ὑπέρ plus the accusative as used by Pausanias here, means "over" or "beyond" (in contrast ὑπέρ with the genitive means physically above or over; exceptions recorded in LSJM s.v. ὑπέρ + gen.I.3). If the *Enneakrounos* spring is the south east fountain house, Pausanias seems to have moved south up the slope, possibly along the Panathenaic Way towards the Akropolis. In fact it is now known that the Eleusinion stood on the north slope of the Akropolis, just beyond the south-east side of the Agora for the reasons set out below (*Plate 45, top right*). The positioning of the Fountain House between the Odeion and the Eleusinion, confirms Pausanias' route and the identities of the monuments he describes (see also Musti and Beschi, (1987):306).

Inscriptions bearing the names of Demeter and Kore have been found all over the Agora and beyond, but they occur most frequently at the south-east corner, particularly on the east side of the road where the Panathenaic Way turns slightly towards the Akropolis. A 4th-century dedication to the two goddesses (Agora I 6896) was also found in the area of the Eleusinion (U20; Meritt, *supra* (1963):45, no.59). Further 4th-century dedications to Demeter and Kore were found in this area (the west end of the Stoa of Attalos: H.A.Thompson, (1960):37, no.45, pl.10; Agora I 6909, cf. a dedication by the priestess of Demeter, Agora I 5802, 4th century). A Pentelic marble statue base for a Herm of Phaidros, found in a late wall beneath the church in section IIA, bears a dedication to the two goddesses (Raubitschek, *supra* (1949):101-3; cf. *IG II²* 3897, which has similar text and lettering, found on the Akropolis). It is extremely unusual to dedicate a Herm of an individual to the Eleusinian goddess (Raubitschek, *supra* (1949):102; cf. the fragment of a Herm, Agora I 6884, reported by Meritt, *supra* (1963):47, no.47, pl.11, preserved from the neck down, used as a late drain cover in the Eleusinion area (U19) on which is inscribed the names of ephebes). A fragment of Hymettian marble was found in a Roman context, north of the Holy Apostles Church (P15) (Agora I 6535). On it the word <γ>υνή can be read, which may link it with the Eleusinian Cult (Meritt, *supra* (1963):45, no.60, pl.2). A small Pentelic marble altar found beneath a house in the

Eleusinion area (U20) shows on the left part of a garland in relief and bears an inscription ([Διον]υσία ζακορεύου/[σ]α Δήμητρι και Κόρηι/ ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ/ ἱερείας [—]/ ουσ[—]; 2nd/1st century; Meritt, *supra* (1963), no.48). One of the blocks measures 1.575m x 0.84m and was found underneath the Valerian Wall. It was probably not moved very far from its original position owing to its weight and size (Agora I 5407; Shear, *supra* (1939):297; Meritt, *supra* (1957):203ff). The inscription may be dated to the 3rd century, from the date of the artist mentioned, the Theban Theoxenos (Meritt, *supra* (1957):205, who quotes Marcadé, (1954):323-44, esp. 336, who places him in the 3rd century). It is a dedication to Demeter and Kore by Demopeithides on behalf of his parents. From the cuttings on the top of the base, which are directly in line with the inscriptions of the names of his father and mother on the front of the base, the statues dedicated were probably images of his parents. They may have been carrying emblems symbolic of the mysteries. Another inscription reads "[....] was ordained for the cult of the two goddesses (Oikonomides, (1964):60-63; it also dates to about the middle of the 3rd century). An offering to Kore and Plouto was found in this area (IG II² 4571, 1st-2nd century AD, seen by Fourmont).

An inscription records the setting up of garlands in front of Demeter's door which may imply that Demeter had her own temple (IG II² 1496). Further to this a hymn to Demeter, consisting of two elegiac distichs, also mentions the dedication of garlands on Demeter's door (IG I³ 953=Agora I 5484). It reads: [ἀ]ρρήτο τελετῆς πρόπολος σῆς, πότνια Διοῖ,/ καὶ θυγατρὸς προθύρο κόσμον ἄγαλμα τόδε/ ἔστηδεν στεφάνω Λυσιστράτη, οὐδὲ παρόντων/ φεῖδεται, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς ἄφθονος ἐς δύναμιν.// "Lysistrate, attendant of your unutterable rite, lady Deo (Demeter), and of your daughter, set up these two garlands as decoration for your door. She is never mean with what she has, but to the gods is as generous as she can be." It dates to about 455, but it could be later, and the letters archaistic. Maas (*supra* (1942):72) argued that Στεφάνω was the name of the priestess in the same way as κοσμός and τραπεζώ are titles of Attic priestesses of Athena (Lyc. fr. 47, B1, Ister, Fr. 16M, in Hesych. s.v. τραπεζώ). But on the top of the base are parallel cuttings (0.32m x 0.23m) to receive a square object, possibly a pillar (cf. other pillar shaft cuttings, Pritchett, *supra* (1940):97-101, n.9).

A small early 5th-century temple, an altar and various monument bases were positioned within a limestone wall (date derived from the pottery found there, Shear, *supra* (1939); H.A.Thompson, (1960):334f; see *Index s.v. Eleusinion*, for the wall). The temple does not stand on any earlier foundations, although there seems to have been earlier active cult worship in this area from the primitive votive figurines and receptacles found in the pre-temple levels (Peschlow-Bindokat, *supra* (1972): 60-157). Its southern

end is marked only by a single block of stone. It measures 11m east-west x 17.70m north-south (compare the Doric temple of Apollo on Delos, which measures 9.7m x 17m, and the Nikias monument at Athens, which measures 11m x 15.2m). It was originally conceived as a narrow building, of grey limestone. However, the reference in Ennius would imply that the temple of Demeter was very rich (prologue to *Medea*, *asta atque Athenas anticum opulentum oppidum... templum Cereris ad laevam aspice...*: "stand and [consider] the rich and opulent town of Athens...behold the temple of Demeter on the left"). Although this is generally taken to mean the Demeter temple to the south of the Agora, Ennius could in fact have been referring to the Demeter and Kore sanctuary which Pausanias saw near the Dipylon). The early fifth-century temple on the south of the Agora, however, does seem to have undergone some kind of improvement. Near enough the time of the original building, its original width which had been 8.60m was increased by 2.40m to 11m, when reddish limestone was added along the east side. Fragments of one vase were found in both foundations, which is proof that the alteration on the east side was carried out shortly after the building began (cf. H.A.Thompson, (1960):336). This extension may have been for a colonnade (Travlos, (1960):66, although he does not repeat this opinion (1971):198-99). This would then have made the building resemble the one at Eleusis, which faced away from the entrance gate, as this one would have done. It is not clear from the foundations on which side the door to the temple stood, there are arguments for the east and the south sides (H.A.Thompson, (1960):336). The east side would have meant a discreet entrance, facing away from the Panathenaic way, suitable for an esoteric mystery cult. But the extension was made on this side suggesting that this was the area where the rites were carried out, and so a doorway into the building may have been better suited to either of the other sides, i.e. north or south. The south seems the more likely position since few blocks remain on this side, which could be explained by the disturbance made by possible alterations on a doorway. Also a soft poros limestone base was positioned at a slight angle to the axis of the temple just to the east which may have once held stelai. It measures 2.00m x 15.00m (H.A.Thompson, (1960):338). For the inscriptions to have been read it would make better sense for the entrance to be on the south. Pollux records the fact that "on Attic stelai, which stand in Eleusis, the property, publicly sold, of those dishonouring the two goddesses is recorded" (Poll. 10.97). Copies of these stelai may have been set up in the Athenian Eleusinion, possibly on this base, since it was at Athens that the parody of the mysteries took place according to Pausanias (see *Index* s.v. *House of Poulytion*; cf. Bergk, suggested emendation of Ἐλευσῖνι, to Ἐλευσινίωι; cf. Padgug, *supra* (1972):135ff). Some stelai have been found scattered around this area including inscriptions relating to the

mutilation of the Herms (*IG* I³ 421,b,e,h, 426,c,d,g,h, 427,b, 428, 430,a,b, 1047; H.A.Thompson, (1960): 338; Pritchett, *supra* (1953): for a geological analysis of the material of the stones to prove that they belong to the same stelai, citing: Allen, *supra* (1951)).

Fragments of a late-fifth-century colossal female figure have been found in this area, possibly belonging to the small south-east Temple. It has been thought that these belong to a statue of Demeter (Musti and Beschi, (1987):307-08; Harrison, *supra* (1960):371ff; Dinsmoor, Jr., *supra* (1982):410ff; see Index s.v. *Temple of Eukleia*). The drapery is consistent with other images of Demeter (see *LIMC* III, s.v. Demeter, *passim*), but it is difficult to know whether this statue was originally the goddess, although its findspot and great size seems to indicate that it was the cult statue of an important sanctuary or temple. Since the Eleusinion is so close, Demeter seems the most likely candidate, but the question remains open.

14.1 Naos of Triptolemos

Bibliography: Nauck, (1856):208-12; P.Graindor, "L'initiation d'Auguste aux Mystères d'Eleusis," *Rev.Belge* 2 (1922):429-34; T.L.Shear, "The Campaign of 1938," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 210, Pl.9; O.Broneer, "The Thesmophorion in Athens," *Hesp.* 11 (1942): 265ff; F.Brommer, *Satyrspiele*, Berlin 1959, 47 and 79; H.A.Thompson, (1960):336; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, (1964):141, R19; A.Peschlow-Bindokat, "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts", *JdI* 87 (1972): 60-157, esp. 146-47; Richardson, (1974):108, 194-99; R.Bernhardt, "Athen, Augustus und die Eleusinischen Mysterien," *AM* 90 (1975):233-37; J.Boardman, "Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis," *JHS* 95 (1975):1-12; I.K. and A.E.Raubitschek, "The Mission of Triptolemos" in *Essays in Honour of Homer A. Thompson*, *Hesp. Suppl.* 20 (1982):109-25; K.Clinton, "The Eleusinian Mysteries: Roman Initiates and Benefactors," *ANRW* 5, 18.2, Berlin (1989):1507-09; G.Schwarz, *Triptolemos: Ikonographie einer Agrar- und Mysteriengottheit*, Graz (1989): 8-26; H.S.Schibli, *Pherekydes of Skyros*, Oxford (1990): 140-75, 178f; Clinton, (1992):43f; T.Hayashi, *Bedeutung und Wandel des Triptolemosbildes vom 6.-4. Jh.v.Chr.* (=Beitr.z.Arch. 20), Würzburg (1992):30-50, 126-74; S.B.Matheson, "The Mission of Triptolemos and the Politics of Athens," *GRBS* 35 (1994):345-372, pl.1-3; S.B.Matheson, *Polygnotos and Vase Painting in Classical Athens*, Madison (1995):352; H.Metzger, "le Dionysos des images eleusiniennes", *Rev.Arch.* 1 (1995):3-22; Shapiro, (1995):67-83; C.Calame, "L'Hymne homérique à Déméter comme offrande: regard rétrospectif sur quelques catégories de l'anthropologie de la religion grecque," *Kernos* 10 (1997):5-6.

Commentary: Pausanias notes that in the other *naos* was an image of Triptolemos. That there was more than one *naos* in the area connected with the Demeter cult, is borne out in an inscription found very close by (Agora I 5156, lines 4-5; Broneer, *supra* (1942):265ff; note the plural: τοὺς ναοὺς πάντας; Satyra, the priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros from the deme of Melite, is recorded as having repaired *all the temples* in [the Eleusinion] (although the restoration of 'Eleusinion', may in fact be wrong, see *Index s.v. Eleusinion*, see below). It is difficult to know whether the *Naos* found and described above belonged to Demeter and Kore, or was the one which Pausanias records as housing the image of Triptolemos. Although the number of inscriptions which have been found in the immediate area around the *Naos*, relate specifically to Demeter and Kore (Persephone), it may be that this *Naos* found and discussed above (see *Index s.v. Temple of Demeter and Kore*) in fact belonged to Triptolemos. A stoa, 25.4m long x c.7.4m wide, stands to the south of the *naos*. It dates to the 1st century AD, derived from the technique used to build it, because hardly any mortar was used in the back wall, dovetailed clamps of wood were used and dry-stone masonry was found in the foundations of the colonnade (column spacing of c.3m; H.A.Thompson, (1960):336; *Plate 45, top right, 46 bottom right*, the blocks to the centre behind the Late Roman Fortification Wall). It was probably built to cater for the ever increasing numbers being initiated in the Eleusinian cult in the Roman period (Graindor, *supra* (1922):429-34; Bernhardt, *supra* (1975):233-37; Clinton, *supra*, (1989):1507-09). This stoa was probably not the building referred to by Pausanias as housing the image of Triptolemos, or the two goddesses, since the word in Pausanias is *Naos*, and this would be a strange noun to use for a stoa.

Pausanias does not describe the image of Triptolemos he saw. It has been suggested that the cult image of Triptolemos may have been shown in his serpent-borne wheeled chair as seen in a number of reliefs dating from the end of the fifth century (*LIMC* VIII, 69, G.Schwarz; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Triptolemos nos.143-44, pl.40, nos.141, 149, pl.41). His chair may have been flanked by two snakes and a torch may have leant against his left shoulder, since this motif is repeated (*LIMC* VIII, s.v. Triptolemos nos.136, 138, pl.40, no.156). His torso is bare, while his loins are covered by dress which is draped across the top of his legs as he sits in the chair. In one of these the dress is decorated (no.136), while in another (no.138) only the folds of drapery are shown. Also in one his right hand holds three sprigs of corn at waist level (no.136). In a vase painting the chair is positioned on top of a base, which may be a representation of a cult statue (*LIMC* VIII, s.v. Triptolemos no.152, pl.41). He is also shown on coins in a chair of snakes (Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, (1964):141, R19; Peschlow-Bindokat, *supra* (1972): 60-157, esp. 146-47).

Reliefs have also been found in this area, representing Triptolemos in a chair with serpent wheels; it is such a common attribute of Triptolemos, it is difficult to argue a specific case for the cult statue (*LIMC* IV, s.v. Demeter nos. 333-71, 886, 890f.; *Plate 46*, top relief from Eleusis; cf. Raubitschek, *supra* (1982):109-25). It is thought that an image of him, possibly the cult statue, was taken in procession throughout the city and on to Eleusis. Praxiteles is credited with making a Triptolemos and Demeter, which stood in Pliny's time in the gardens of Servilius in Rome (Plin. *NH.* 36.20). In many of the so-called Mission scenes Triptolemos sits in a chair, which is often wheeled, and is flanked by Demeter and Kore (the mission being to educate people in the way of cultivating the land: Matheson, *supra* (1994):n.1; Robertson, (1992), Pl.113, rf. Pelike, from Orvieto, Copenhagen, NY Carlsberg, Glyp.2695, ARV² 364.19, Demeter stands in front of Triptolemos, in her left hand she holds wheat, in her right hand she pours into a *patera* held by Triptolemos, which is frequently seen in Triptolemos' departure or mission scenes; Kore stands behind him; also see Shear, *supra*(1939): 210, Pl.9; *LIMC*, addenda, Vol IV, s.v. *Demeter* no. 344, BM E.140; one of the earliest depictions of the chair scene, is on an Attic black figure amphora: Budapest Mus. Beaux-Arts 50/732; *LIMC*, add. vol IV, p.872, s.v.Demeter no.334, end of 6th century). The wheel spokes of his chair are commonly shown in the same position: a vertical +, which may reflect a well known image (Hayashi, *supra* (1992):30-55). The wheels represent the idea of the travel which would be involved in teaching all the Greeks cultivation. The wings must have been conceived as accelerating the process of disseminating the information. Most of the vases found show Triptolemos in a *chiton* and *himation*, facing right, Demeter in front and Persephone behind (Clinton, (1992):43f; for other deities see Matheson, *supra* (1994):352-62; note that Triptolemos received sacrifice alongside Demeter and Kore, *IG* I³ 78, lines: 29-30, 36, 38).

Through Athens, the Eleusinian cult spread. Since the Mission Scene represents the dissipation of agricultural knowledge the Eleusinian cult was viewed as having sowed the seeds for society, whose economy has its roots in agriculture, providing self-sufficiency and trade (cf. Matheson, *supra* (1994):368, quoting Isokrat. *Paneg.* 28-29). This is embodied in Kallias' attempt to persuade the Spartans to make peace on the grounds that Triptolemos from Attika had given the rites to members of the Peloponnese not least to Herakles and the Dioskouroi, so the receivers should not fight the givers, and those who gave should not deprive (X. *Hell.*6.3.6). The Herakles and Cerberus story begins to become popular in vase painting at the time of Peisistratos, which may reflect the fact that the Lesser Mysteries may have been established at this time, since Herakles was supposed to have been purified in the Lesser Mysteries before he could be initiated

at Eleusis, thus the iconography of Herakles would have been used by the Peisistratids for propaganda (Boardman, *supra* (1975):1-12; cf. Shapiro, (1995):67-83; also seen on the amphora in Reggio Calabria, Arch.Mus.4001; *ABV* 147, no.6). These scenes with Herakles are non-violent, representing Persephone's acceptance of him into the Eleusinian Mysteries which is an iconographic acknowledgement of Athens' recent importance at Eleusis (Raubitschek and Raubitschek, *supra* (1982):109-15, esp.110-111; Hayashi, *supra* (1992):126-74). The earliest extant representation of his Mission scene dates to the mid-sixth century, and the trend continues with a decisive increase at the time of the Peisistratids (graph in Matheson, *supra* (1994):363,pl.1). Theseus is later shown as receiving grain from Demeter. This is a deliberate association of Theseus with Athens. The city justified her activities throughout Greece by constantly making reference and allusions to her role in the Eleusinian Mysteries, via the mythical hero.

The cult of Triptolemos was important for two reasons. First he was credited with introducing the cultivation of the land (the growing of grain, Paus.7.18.2; cf.Paus.1.38.6, for the threshing floor and altar of Triptolemos at Eleusis; see *LIMC* VIII, 57-59, G.Schwarz for the mythology). He is also locally credited with breadmaking, spinning and weaving (Paus.8.4.1), even building cities (Paus.7.18.2). Triptolemos appears to be handing over grains to some women on amphorae by the Swing painter (*ABV* nos.82 and 83, Matheson, (1995):352, n.25). This scene may possibly represent the fact that the women would make bread out of the grains, which Triptolemos may have been telling them about since it is unlikely that women were thought to have received instruction in agriculture (Clinton, (1992):164f), despite the fact that Demeter who held the ultimate knowledge was female. The second reason he was important was a result of the first. He was credited with bringing about civilisation because settled farming groups were established which led to the prosperity of the community through the trading of the produce, which Triptolemos had instructed them to cultivate.

Triptolemos is not mentioned in either Hesiod or Homer. Where Triptolemos is first mentioned in literature, in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (lines 153-6) he is named as one of the people of Eleusis to whom Demeter could go, but she chooses Keleos instead. At the end of the Hymn he is one of the few who receives instruction in her rites and mysteries (lines 473-9; Richardson, (1974):108,194-99; Calame, *supra* (1997):111). In the *Homeric Hymn* Triptolemos is taught neither Demeter's mysteries nor the way of cultivation (Walton, *supra* (1952):107-8, 111, who also reminds us that Athens is not mentioned in the Hymn, and also that Athens had her own mysteries at Agrai and Phlya).

Although Triptolemos is known earlier in art (for example a red-figure Amphora, Reggio Calabria, N.M.4001, from Lokri; *ABV* 147,6; *LIMC* VIII, s.v. Triptolemos no.5),

apart from the Homeric Hymn, the earliest extant mention in literature comes from a fragment in which Triptolemos is described as flying in his winged chair (lost play by Sophocles, Radt, *TGrF*, vol.4, frags 596-617a). It was likely to have been a Satyr play (Matheson, *supra* (1994):348; Brommer, *supra* (1959):47 and 79). Only later writers credit him with grain cultivation and sowing (Schwarz, *supra* (1989): 8-26, for references). There were various traditions regarding who Triptolemos' parents were. The variations created obviously result from there being no earlier established tradition, as Pausanias himself thought (1.38.7; Gaia and Oceanus: Pherekydes, from Apollod. *Bib.*1.5.2; Schibli, *supra* (1990): 140-75, 178f; Musaios(?), mentioned by Paus.1.14.3; Keleos and Metaneira: Apollod.*Bib.*1.5.2; Demeter and Eleusis: Panyassis, from Apollod. 1.5.2; Trochilos of Argos and an Eleusinian woman: Argive legend, Paus.1.14.2; or that his father was Dysaulos: Orpheus(?), Paus.1.14.3; or even Raros and Amphiktyon's daughter). His name possibly originating from τρίπολος, "Three times ploughed/sown" which would echo the coupling of Demeter and the Titan Iasion, in the thrice ploughed field (Matheson, *supra* (1994):350, and n.18; see *Index s.v. Eirene bearing Ploutos*; the significance of a field ploughed three times is also seen in Vergil (Verg.G.338-50).

14.3 Eleusinion

Bibliography: "The Shatbi kernos", in A.Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo (1919), no.248, pl.58, 131; J.G.Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (1919) I: 236, 237; II:90-1; T.L.Shear, "The Campaign of 1938," *Hesp.* 8 (1939): 209; A.Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-Shan* (1940): 45,51,52,56; M.P.Nilsson, *The Minoan-Mycenean religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, Lund (1950): 135-141; A.Pease, ed. *Marcus Tullius Cicero, De Nat.Deorum*, 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.(1955-58): vol.1: 272, vol.2: 722; J.H.Oliver, *Hesp.* 27 (1958):38-45; Fraser, (1971):200-1; D.J.Geagan, "The Great Catalogue from the Eleusinion at Athens," *ZPE* 33 (1979):108-113; J.J.Pollitt, *Hesp.* 49 (1979): 208ff; K.Clinton, "A Law in the City Eleusinion concerning the Mysteries," *Hesp.* 49 (1980):258ff; G.Bakalakis, "Les kernoï éleusiniens", *Kernos* 4 (1991): 105-117; Spaeth, (1996):129.

Commentary: The Eleusinion mentioned by Pausanias was a *hieron* on the south east side of the Agora. The term probably did not include the *naoi* of Demeter and Kore and Triptolemos for two reasons. The first is that Pausanias was prevented from describing what was in the *Hieron* by a dream. He had already described the *naoi* so it follows that they cannot have been part of the *hieron*. The second reason is that the term *hieron*, as at Eleusis, must refer to the holy place where initiates entered and saw the things which only initiates were permitted to see. It is clearly not the outlying area. At Eleusis,

Pausanias mentions the *naoi* of Triptolemos, *Artemis Propylaios* and *Poseidon Pater*, and a well called Kallichoron. All have been found *outside* the main walled area (Paus.1.38.6; *Plate.47, bottom*). If the *naoi* Pausanias described did not form part of that known as the 'Eleusinion', then the restoration in Agora I 5156, that the priestess repaired "*all the naoi in the Eleusinion*" may be wrong, for the *naoi* that are known (i.e. the ones mentioned by Pausanias) would have stood outside the *hieron*. Note that the Eleusinion at Athens was distinguished from the one in Eleusis, by the designation "in the city" (Agora I 6921: line 1: ...ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ ἐν ᾧ-[σται..., Pentelic marble found in area of the Eleusinion (T21), not later than the 4th century; Meritt, *supra* (1963):2, no.3; Wycherley, (1957):331; *IG I³1324*, line14; cf. *IG II² 204*, lines7, 57; *IG II²1672*, line 162, 165). An inscription records the fact that the *mystai* in the city were to celebrate in the Eleusinion (*IG I³ 6*, lines 41-42: τοὺς (μύστας) δὲ ἐν ᾧσται [μυομένου/-ς] ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ; found near the Hephaisteion; not later than 450).

It is clear that the Eleusinion (see *Index s.v. Eleusinion*) was situated beneath the Akropolis since this is attested epigraphically, ὑπὸ τῷ ἀστεῖ, "beneath the (akro)polis" (*IG II² 1078*, lines11f., line 38; line41: ἐν Ἐλευσίνῳ τῷ ὑπὸ [τ]εῖ πόλει; found in the area of the Eleusinion; lines 6-8: τὰ ἱερὰ/ δεῦρο τ' ἐκ τῆς Ἐλευσεῖνος καὶ πάλιν ἐξ] ᾧστεως Ἐ/-λευσεῖναδε; c.220AD; Mylonas (1961):252). Furthermore, this description has parallels in literature (Clem.Alex. *Protrep.* 3.45: ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει). Moreover it is known that the Eleusinion was at the perimeter of the Agora since Xenophon suggests that the Athenian cavalry make a dash from the Herms on the north-west side of the Agora, through the Agora itself to honour the shrines there, up to the Eleusinion (note the prefix, ἀν-), with the implication that they rushed to the other side of the Agora, in order to take in all the shrines (*X.Hipp.*3.2). To interpret this passage: if the Eleusinion was located to the south-east of the Agora, this would allow for a diagonal rush, across the middle of the Agora, from the north-west to the south-east, past all the shrines they would pay honour to (also *dromos*, means a race-course). It is also true that there was a *dromos* across the Agora towards the Areopagos in the Classical period, which may hint at the possible extent of the actual sanctuary of the Eleusinion, see below, *p.167-68* (CAH plates to Vols. V/VI:109,plan).

Clement of Alexandria mentions a *peribolos* of the Eleusinion, which would imply that it was surrounded by a wall, as it was at Eleusis (Clem.Alex.*Protrep.* 2.15.3). An early wall of limestone was discovered to the east of the Panathenaic Way (*Plate 46, bottom*; H.A.Thompson, (1960):334f). The eastern limit of the Wall is still unknown, since it lies under modern housing, but its western, northern and southern sides can be measured. A *propylon* was cut into the wall. The inner width of the foundations of the

propylon's side walls measured about 2.5m, whereas it extended just under 6m in length which may have enabled the sanctuary to be locked (see below; for an earlier opening on the south side of the wall, which may have served as an entrance, see H.A.Thompson, (1960):334,pl.3, for Travlos' drawing during excavation). Further in support of the fact that this area may have been locked even in the 5th century comes from the description that during the Peloponnesian War, "many people lived in the sanctuaries and hero shrines, all except those on the Akropolis, the Eleusinion and any other which could be securely locked" (...καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληιστὸν ἦν; Th.2.17.1). That there was a gate is also attested from an inscription which records certain details regarding work on the temple and certain instructions for payment (*IG* II² 1672, the inscription dates to 329/8). It includes nails for the doors (θύραι) of the gate for the Eleusinion in the city, (line 162: ἦλοι τῶις θύραις τῶν Πυλίδων, καὶ τῶι θύραι ταῖς] εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει... nails for the doors of the gate), and details of the fact that there had been an entrance porch (πρόθυρον, lines 165-66: τῷ ποιήσαντι τὰς θύρας τὰς εἰς τὸ Ἐλεύσινιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὸ πρόθυρον) and bricks for the Eleusinion in the city (line 182, πλίνθοι εἰς τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον τὸ ἐν ἄστει). Payment was to be made to the man who made the doors into the Eleusinion in the city.

Therefore '*hieron*' in this context refers to the area enclosed within the wall, behind the *propylon*. In Athens, this would then mean that the *hieron* referred to by Pausanias did not contain the *naoi* of Demeter and Kore, and Triptolemos, but stood close to it. It is difficult to know whether the temple found within the walled area was one of the *naoi* named by Pausanias or if this area formed part the Eleusinion's complex. It may be that the answers lay further to the east of the one *naos* so far discovered. From the abundant references to it in literature marking it out as one of the features of Athens, it must have been a large and opulent sanctuary.

The wider area (the *temenos*) which was marked out and enclosed by the grey limestone wall was sacred to the Eleusinian deities. One *horos* of Demeter was found built into the wall of St Spyridon church, not far from the Eleusinion area over by the Library of Pantainos, (R14) (Agora I 5784, [ὄρος] Δημ[ή]τ[ρος], 4th/3rd century; Lalonde, *et al.* (1991):H50, pl.4, unpublished: *SEG* 41 (1991):126, unpublished Univ. of Colorado Dissertation, Ritchie, *The Athenian Boundary Stones of Public Domain*, Corpus of 121 public boundary stones). Another *horos* of Demeter was found beneath the floor of the Stoa of Attalos in front of the 8th step from the south end, Q11 (Agora I 6311: [Δ]έμετρος] ὁρος; Lalonde, *et al.* (1991):H4, early 5th century; Thompson, *Hesp.* 20 (1951):53, pl.27a).

An Augustan inscription records honours paid by the *boule* and people of Athens, to Syndromos who had financed the Eleusinian games (Agora I 5323). The names of the initiated may have been inscribed in the inscription known as The Great Catalogue, from the Eleusinion at Athens. The inscription's connection with the Eleusinian Mysteries was first seen by Oliver (*supra* (1958):38-42), who believed it to be a list of those initiated in the Mysteries. Geagan discusses the "clues" which help identify the people whose names are inscribed and the contest for which the inscription was set up (Geagan, *supra* (1979):109ff). It contains about 900 names. Commodus was a panegyriarch of the Mysteries possibly in 190/1 AD, which may have been the occasion when this inscription was written. Oliver had pointed out to Geagan that, although the emperor's presidency of the panegyris would have been "undertaken...*in absentia*," he would still have paid for the festival delegating the official tasks to others (Geagan, *supra*, (1979):110, n.70 for a parallel, *IG II² 3592*, lines 11-12). It is known that there were paintings inside the Eleusinion (Plin.*NH*.35.134). Since paintings were often set up within stoas, these paintings referred to by Pliny may have been housed in the Stoa whose remains can be seen beside the *temenos* wall (see *Index s.v. Zeus Eleutherios Stoa; Poikile Stoa*)?

One description mentions that at the "...Eleusinion in Athens...every year a Panegyris took place, including a theatrical and music competition, the spectacle took place in a most pleasant spot... in keeping with the festivals of the Eleusinia" (Satyrus, P.Oxy 2465, fr. 3, col. ii, lines 4-11, *On the demes of Alexandria*; cf. [Lysias] 6 (Andokides), 4 just after 399: ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θυσιάσει καὶ εὐχὰς εὔξεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἐνθάδε Ἐλευσινίῳ, τὰ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσίνι ἱερῷ. "...sacrifice and pray for you, according to ancestral custom, both here at the Eleusinion and at the shrine of Eleusis"). It is likely then that the events took place outside. Which must mean that there must have been quite a sizeable area allocated for this purpose. It may lie to the east of this area, which currently remains undisturbed under the modern houses.

It would not be surprising to learn that the area sacred to the Eleusinian goddesses to the south of the Agora, had in fact been larger than has been suspected to date. Many dedications have been found, not just near the 'Eleusinion,' but all over the Agora, which indicates the importance of the sanctuary in Athens. The so-called Demeter cistern, located at the north-west foot of the Areopagos, which had belonged to one of the small buildings in the heavily residential area, yielded various terracottas (D.B.Thompson, *supra* (1987):198-283). One of the female ritual figurines (T 98) has her *himation* drawn over her head and mouth, and carries a large disc in a napkin from which a central tall projection had been broken away. This is similar to one found near the Eleusinion (T 1623), and is most likely to have been linked with the worship of Demeter. The disc may

have been the ritual cake referred to in the Eleusinian Mysteries (*IG II² 1367*, Eur. *Helen* 547, and Pollux s.v. ὀρθοστάται; cf. Agora I 6877a, Meritt, *supra* (1963):2, no2). Another figurine carries what appears to be a *liknon*, a basket used in the worship of Demeter or Dionysos (T431; D.B.Thompson, *supra* (1987):280, identifies a young effeminate male figurine also found in the cistern as being Bakchos). A miniature *kernos* was also discovered in there, a further link with Demeter worship (see *Index s.v. Eleusinion*). If the sanctuary of Demeter was over at the south east side of the Agora, what are we to make of the finding of this cistern, to the south west of the Agora, on the north west side of the Areopagos? It is difficult to know whether the Eleusinion spread across the higher ground to south of the Agora. The finding of these objects over by the south-west side of the Agora, clearly indicates that the area was considered sacred enough to use this cistern as a dump for such votive offerings. Many inscriptions relating to the Eleusinian cult have also been found in the Agora area (for instance dedications to Persephone and Demeter: Agora I 5436; Ath.NM 3572, c.420; Agora I 5436; Shear, *supra* (1939): 208, pl.6; *Hesp.*10 (1941): 258, no.62; an individual whose name has not been preserved was ordained for the cult of the two goddess; H.A.Thompson, (1960):40, no.50; ταῖν θεοῖν Agora I 5485, *Plate 45, bottom left*). The Eleusinion at Eleusis was large. If a relative comparison is made with the site in Athens, the Eleusinion in the city may also have spread over a large area (*Plate 47*).

An inscription found in the area of the Eleusinion (U21; Agora I 236bb; *Hesp.* 30 (1961):25-28, Stele II) mentions *klinai*, *diphroi* (backless stools) and *kibotoi* (chests, which were the most expensive of any furniture in the lists), barley, slaves and the word κηλώνειον, which Pritchett takes, after some investigation, to mean some contraption for drawing water from a well (like a shadoof). All these articles have a use in the Eleusinian Mysteries (Clinton, (1992), *passim*). An inscription which was found in the area of the Eleusinion, U20 has a list of *himatia* (Pritchett, *Hesp.* 30 (1961):23ff, Stele I). Fragment k of the Stele has the letters -υρία preserved. It has been suggested that it be restored πυρία, "bath-tub," but as Pritchett discovered there is room for c.8 letters to the left of -υρία. He suggests Ἀσσυρία preceded by δούλη, i.e. Assyrian Slave, but as he says, there is no parallel for such a combination in other Attic stelai.

Kernoi were found in abundance in this area (*Plate 48 middle right*; Shear, *supra* (1939):209, for a photograph of some which had been partly covered up by the Valerian Wall). The *kernos* has a deep belly that curves in and an open top. The handles were fastened to either side of the belly at the widest part. The pairs of holes beneath each handle would hold sprigs of wheat or millet (*Plate 48, top*). These vessels were used in the Eleusinian cult, which is attested not only in art but also by the fact that a number

were found at the main site at Eleusis itself (e.g. Pollitt, *supra* (1979):208,Pl.1; Bakalakis, *supra* (1991):105-117). On some bronze coins and silver tetradrachms *kernoi* are shown, occasionally with the head of Demeter on the obverse (Pollitt *supra* (1979):(b) obv. Demeter head; rev. *kernos* and a bacchic ring; (c) inscr. ΑΘΕ and a *kernos* with spears of millet). Since these vessels were probably buried by priests at the limits of the sanctuary, their findspots give some indication of the boundaries (Pollitt, *supra* (1979):232-3). There was an abundance of vessels dedicated in the last quarter of the 4th century, which may reflect a temporary fashion. This was probably a result of the increase in the interest in the Eleusinian festival during Lycurgus' rule (338-326). The *kernos* was generally used in chthonic rites, for example for Rhea (Nik. *Alexipharm.* 217, and schol.; Kybele: Alex.Aet. *Anth.Pal.* 7.709; Clem.Alex.2.15.3; Hesych.s.v. κερνέα).

Kernoi have been found in graves on Crete, which indicates their association with death and rebirth, the very basis of the Demeter and Persephone cult (Schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497c, although the reliability of this source has been doubted). Demeter's connection with the earth may be borne out further by the probable ancient etymology of her name, Demeter = Ge-meter (Pease, *supra* (1955-58): vol. 1:272, vol. 2:722; Varr.Rust.3.1.4, "not without reason is the earth called both Mother and Ceres;" Paus.8.42.4, in Phigaleia in the Peloponnese, Demeter is sitting on a rock; Spaeth, (1996):129). In Egypt mould or earth effigies of Osiris were made, which were filled with corn or barley, placed in a grave and then watered, the sprouting grain representing the triumph of life (personified in the image of Osiris) over death ("New Excavations at Kôm es-Shugafa", in *BSAAlex.* 35, p.21, n.1; cf. Rowe, *supra* (1940):45,51,52,56). *Kernoi* which resemble the style of those at Eleusis have also been found at Alexandria, which points to a connection with Eleusis. Interestingly, on the outskirts of Alexandria stood a suburb recorded in literary and documentary sources as Eleusis (Breccia, *supra* (1919), no.248, pl.58, 131; Fraser, (1971):200-1). A similar practice was carried out in Cyprus and Syria, where small pots were filled with earth and sown with seeds of wheat, flowers or vegetables and watered (Frazer, *supra* (1919) I: 236, 237; II:90-1).

Most of the vessels found here and at Eleusis are of a plain type. Although the *kernoi* in Athens have few traces of decoration, they vary much more in size than those found in Eleusis. Other *kernoi* found at Athens have *kotyliskoi* (little cups) of varying quantity attached to the basic shape (Pollitt, *supra* (1979) pl. 65). The vessels were used as part of a dance known as the *kernophoria* (Poll. *Onom.* 4.103; Hesych.s.v. κερνοφόρον; Athen.14.629D). The holes at the handles of these vessels were used to hold sprigs of millet or wheat, encourages the link between κέρνος/ κέρχνος and κέγχρος, (millet), thus κέρχνος may be a variant of κέρνος. The basic meaning of κέρχνος is 'rough', in

keeping with the texture of the outside of the vessels (Pollitt, *supra*(1979):206). While this is true, it is also likely that the name of the vessel (κέρχνος) used in inscriptions is linked to 'κέγγρος' which is a kind of millet, the *holcus surgum*; LSJM, refers to κέγγρος at κέρχμος (κέρχμοι χρυσοί, IG I³ 386, line 17; IG I³ 387, line 23, (407/6). So the vessels were probably called after the wheat they held. The Sumerian word 'GUR', which became the Akkadian word 'KUR' (the word *kurru*, which loses its ending through mimation, is "a wheat measure"; also in Biblical Hebrew, 'kor', sometimes written 'khor', has the same meaning). There seems to be a link between these words and the Greek, possibly indicating the origin of the vessel's name, and its use.

Pausanias thought it right that he should provide an explanation as to why he does not include a description of the contents of the Eleusinion. He mentions that he was prevented from doing so by a dream (cf. Paus. at Eleusis, 1.38.6, where again his dream prevents him from describing the things which were within the wall of the *hieron* at Eleusis itself; Hdt.1.38, "I had a vision in a dream that *said* (ἔφη) you had a short time to live, and that you would be slain by an iron spear"; cf. Verg.*Aen.* 4, 219ff.: the vision *speaks* to Aeneas). There are many instances where authors have checked themselves in this way. For instance Numenius, the late 2nd century AD philosopher from Apameia in Syria, has dreams which prevent him from disclosing the Eleusinian Mysteries: *somnia prodiderunt* (Numenius in Macrobius' commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* I,2,18ff; cf. Paus.4.35.5, Veyne, (1988):147). Thus like the order Pausanias received in his dreams, these were warnings not to do something. In other authors dreams can inspire them in a positive way. For instance Dio Cassius was told by the gods in his dream to write a Roman History (Dio Cass.23.2). Galen's father saw his son in a dream as a doctor, and Galen received the knowledge of a medicine in a dream (Galen 10.609; 16.222). It seems to be the result of reverence to religion, that prevents Pausanias from telling all: "The rites of the goddess, which is the rite performed in the Karnassian Grove, I am not permitted to reveal, for I consider them second in holiness after the Eleusinian", Paus.4.33.5). It is most interesting, however, that Pausanias made no attempt to revise what he had written, and leave out or re-word the section so that no omissions would be obvious. Instead the inclusion of the dream serves to reveal his own religious fervour.

14.4 Bronze bull, as if being lead to sacrifice

Bibliography: Sokolowski, (1969):no. 96; R.F.Healey, *Eleusinian Sacrifices in the Athenian Law Codes*, Thesis Harvard [(1960)] Harvard Dissertations in the Classics (1990), New York and London; Spaeth, (1996):132-3.

Commentary: Pausanias now in the area in front of the Demeter and Triptolemos temples, and mentions seeing a bronze bull being led to sacrifice (cf. the bull dedicated at Olympia, by Herodes Atticus, *Plate 48, bottom*). It is difficult to know whether this bull had been dedicated to the Eleusinian deities or to some other god. If to the Eleusinian gods then this is interesting since a pig was the customary animal sacrificed to Demeter, for instance on Mykonos in about 200, pigs are recorded as being sacrificed to the goddesses (SIG³ 1024; Sokolowski, (1969): no. 96). The inscription reads: "On the 10th of Lenaion, for the crops, to the accompaniment of a hymn to Demeter, a pregnant sow bearing her first litter, to Kore: a full grown boar, to Zeus Bouleus (i.e. as underworld lord): a pig;... any woman can go whether initiated in the mysteries or not". It is possible that the bull may in fact have been dedicated to Eukleia, whose *Naos* Pausanias saw in this area, although the use of the preposition ἀπωτέρω, implies that her Temple stood further off. Therefore the bull was not likely to have been sacred to Eukleia. Why then set it up here? See below for the connection with Epimenides.

14.4 Epimenides of Knossos sitting

Bibliography: Musti and Beschi, (1987):310.

Commentary: Musti makes the suggestion that Epimenides, whose image Pausanias saw after the bull, was actually the first to yoke bulls, making him the ancestor of the Βουζύγιοι (Musti and Beschi, (1987):310, quoting Plutarch, *coniug. praec.* 144a). While this may be true, one must consider the iconography. Epimenides was shown sitting, which suggests that he did not form part of the same group as the bull. Rather if the bull had been set up near Epimenides deliberately to associate the two, then it was made at a separate time.

Pausanias' account of Epimenides, whose image he saw sitting in front of the temple which was probably sacred to Triptolemos, agrees with Plato and others, but differs from Strabo and Plutarch (Str.10.479; Plut. *Sol.*12.7). Epimenides was a Cretan religious teacher in Athens (Plat. *Leg.* 1.642d; Theopomp.FGH 155, FF 67 a,e, 68 b-c). He was also known for prophecy (FGrH 457; Diels-Kranz, *Vorsokra.* 1.27-37; Kirk, *Pre-Socratic Philosophers*, 23f, 44f). He was known as a κούρης νέος, a "young man" (Plut., Diels, 30) because he went to sleep for forty years, and when he awoke he had not aged at all. There was another tradition that he slept for 57 years (D.L. (Diels 28); cf. out of body experiences, Suda, Diels, 29). Epimenides was believed to have cleansed Athens after Kylon's men were killed in about 600 ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* I: Diels, i, 29f; see Musti and Beschi (1990):310). It was probably for this service to Athens that he received a statue.

14.4 Thales

Bibliography: F.Brommer, *AA* (1973):663-70; H.von Heintze, in *Festschrift für Frank Brommer*, eds. U.Höckmann and A.Krug, Mainz (1977a):163-72; H.von Heintze, *Gymnasium* 84 (1977b):437-43; Richter, (1984):197, 209-10.

Commentary: Pausanias seems to imply that there was an image of Thales near Epimenides of Knossos. Pausanias mentions that Epimenides' statue was there, and then digresses on his history. Immediately after this, Pausanias tells how Thales stopped the plague for the Lacedaimonians. Why would Pausanias mention Thales straight after Epimenides if there had not been a statue of him?

Two certain images of Thales are known. Both are late, and iconographically unimportant. This is in the mosaic at Baalbek, and the other a wall-painting in the Palazzo dei Cesari, at Ostia (*Plate 48, middle left*; Richter, (1984):209, fig.171). In the mosaic at Baalbek, dated to the 3rd century AD, all the sages have beards, and are identified by a name written beside each image (Richter, (1984):197, fig.158). The philosophers' images are probably fictitious (Richter, (1984):196). While this is true, it must also be noted that the artist has portrayed certain individual traits. This is seen most clearly in the image of Sokrates. His characteristic features renders him easily recognisable: he is bald and over his ears are white tufts which lap onto his face. This image is in keeping with the two other main portraits of him (see *Index s.v. Pompeion*). Also in the Baalbek mosaic Sokrates' nose is much shorter than the others, which again is in keeping with the description of him as being snub-nosed. Thales, in contrast, has a thick head of hair, one of his shoulders is bare and reveals his body to be quite stocky. Although this is not a portrait of him, it is an attempt to convey some features known to the artist, otherwise there would be no real point in representing him younger than the rest.

A restored double herm in the Vatican has been thought to represent Thales since on the other side Bias was shown, who was known to have come from a neighbouring city (Galleria Geografica; Richter, (1984):209-10, fig.172; other candidates have been put forward, von Heintze, *supra*(1977a):163-71). Thales appears next to Bias in the Baalbek mosaic which adds support to the view that the two were associated with one another in antiquity (*Plate 45*). Again it must be noted that if this is Thales he is not shown as aged as the other portraits of the "Seven Wise Men". The herm image has receding hair combed forward into three or four sections over the front part of his crown. His nose is long and along with his lowered eye-brows, his face is similar to that of Demosthenes (*Plate 35 bottom*; See *Index s.v. Demosthenes*). Wrinkles only appear across his forehead,

which again suggests his age to be less than the other philosophers in the circle of 'Seven'. Whoever this portrait was of, it is clear that since Bias is on the other side, this is an image of a philosopher, who was younger than the others. There is a case for it being Thales (as above) but without further proof the question is perhaps best left open.

It is interesting that Pausanias does not mention here that Thales was among the Seven wisest men. He only mentions the 'Seven' when he reaches the Akropolis and discusses the fact that Periander and Pittakos, the despot of Lesbos, were among the number: "The Greeks say that there were Seven Wise Men" (Paus.1.22.8). Why did Pausanias not mention the Seven when he saw Thales' image? It may have been because he intended to remark on them when he came to the image of Sokrates (1.22.8), he may have been more concerned here with addressing the fact that Thales was credited with stopping the Plague for the Lacedaimonians, although he does not say how he did this. It is also quite possible that Pausanias did not know that he numbered among the wisest men, since the list varied (Richter, (1984):196-98).

Thales came from Gortyn in Crete, as Pausanias mentions here. He wrote Paianes ([Plut.]*de mus.* 10, but cf. 42: paianic and cretic rhythms) and songs on obedience to the laws (Plut. *Lyk.*4). Unfortunately none of his work survives. He is credited with the famous saying "Know Thyself" (D.L.1.35ff,39). In the Baalbek mosaic, discussed above, Chilon is given these words, but since it dates to the 3rd century AD such a confusion may be understandable.

14.5 Naos of Eukleia

Bibliography: G.B.Grundy, *The Great Persian War* (1901):321; N.G.L.Hammond, *JHS* 76(1956):32f; A.Podlecki, *The Life of Themistokles*, London (1975); J.Barron, in Craik, (1990):133-141.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions that the *Naos* of Eukleia was also a dedication from the Persians at Marathon. Pausanias states that the defeat of the Persians was an achievement of which the Athenians were proud and this is attested in literature and inscriptions (Simonides wrote the epitaph to commemorate the heroes lost at Marathon; *IG* I³ 503/4; four Pentelic fragments; Barron, (1990):133-141, summarises previous scholarship; the wars permeate Athenian life, and this is reflected in Pausanias' description: Alcock, (1996):251).

The *Naos* of Eukleia has not yet been identified. Pausanias describes it as being ἀπωτέρω, "farther off" from the images of Thales and Epimenides which stood near the Temple of Triptolemos. Did Pausanias mean slightly higher up on the Panathenaic way? The temple may be located just to the south or east of the 'Eleusinion', beyond the limit of

the present excavations. The foundations of a small temple were found on the south-east side of the Agora (*Plate 13, top*). A large marble female torso was found near this (S2070a,b; *Plate 49*). Was this the Eukleia temple, or had it been sacred to Demeter and Kore? The Demeter Temple, Pausanias describes as being just "beyond" the Enneakrounos; it was probably located further south on the Panathenaic way, but since this was likely to have been the location of the Eleusinion this small temple may transpire to have been sacred to Demeter and Kore (see *Index s.v. Enneakrounos, Temple of Demeter and Kore*). It seems unlikely that this was the Temple sacred to Eukleia as mentioned by Pausanias, since it is unlikely that he would double back on himself, and return to a temple he would have passed on his way up to the Eleusinion. Also if it is considered that Pausanias actually envisaged his 'readers' as being able to see the next point they were to take, then the view of the Hephaisteion, the next stop on his tour, would have been blocked by the Stoas to the south of the Agora and the Odeion building itself, since this small temple stands on lower ground. Pausanias, and so the Temple of Eukleia, must have been standing on higher ground in order for the Hephaisteion to be seen.

Eukleia was identified with Artemis (S.OT.161: Ἄρτεμιν ἃ κυκλόεντ' ἀγορᾶς θρόνον Εὐκλέα θάσσει; Boiotia and Lokris, Paus,9,17,1; Corinth, X.Hell.4.4.2). Eukleia was also worshipped with Eunoia at Athens (*IG II² 4874*:...ἱερατεύ/-σαντα Εὐκλείαι καὶ Εὐνομίαι ἀνέθηκεν; *IG II² 4193*, lines 13-15: καὶ ἱερέα Εὐκλείας καὶ Εὐνομίας διὰ βίου, καὶ..., dates between 85/6-94/5; *IG II² 3738*; seat reserved for the priest of Eukleia and Eunomia in the Theatre of Dionysos (*IG II²5059*: ἱερέως/ Εὐκλείας καὶ Εὐνομίας).

Having mentioned the temple of Eukleia, Pausanias acknowledges Aischylos' pride over having fought in the battle. Aischylos won numerous victories, even after his death (Plut. *vit. Aesch.*). He fought at Marathon, Salamis and in the Persian expedition (*A.Pers.* 429; Hammond, *supra*(1956):32f; cf. Grundy, *supra* (1901):321). Pausanias singles out Salamis, Artemision (the promontory on the north-west coast of Euboeia) and Marathon for comment. The Greek fleet had withdrawn to Salamis when central Greece had been evacuated (cf. Podlecki, *supra* (1975)). Aischylos' pride for Athens, and pride in taking part in the battles to try and preserve his city's freedom, is reflected in his simple epitaph, which Pausanias describes. No mention was made of his poetry, it only states that the wood of Marathon and the Persians who landed there, would bear witness to his bravery. Even in his plays, Aischylos displays how deeply he had been affected by his experiences in these wars. Thus it puts a different view on the splendour of the costumes (as would have been needed in the *Persians* and the *Suppliants*) and the vivid

descriptions of battles (for instance Salamis in the *Persians*). His love for his city did not go unacknowledged, for when he died, Athens herself decreed that anyone staging one of his plays, would be granted a chorus by the archon (Plut. *vit. Aesch.*, 479).

14.6 Naos of Hephaistos

Bibliography: Shear, (1933):527ff; D.B.Thompson, *Hesp.* 6 (1937):396-425; C.E.Olsen, "An Interpretation of the Hephaisteion Reliefs," *AJA* 42 (1938):276ff; W.B.Dinsmoor, "Observations on the Hephaisteion," *Hesp. Suppl.* 5 (1941); O.Broneer, "Notes on the Interior of the Hephaisteion," *Hesp.* 14 (1945): 24ff; G.Gullini, "L'Hephaisteion di Atene," *Arch.Cl.* 1 (1948):11ff; B.H.Hill, "The Interior Colonnade of the Hephaisteion," *Hesp. Suppl.* 8 (1949):190ff; H.A.Thompson, "The Pedimental Sculpture of the Hephaisteion," *Hesp.* 18 (1949):230ff; C.Picard, "Le type guerrier de l'Athéna Héphaïstia d'Alcamène," *RA* 35 (1950): 189-90; G.P.Stevens, "The Grilles of the Hephaisteion," *Hesp.* 19 (1950):165ff; G.P.Stevens, "Some Remarks upon the Interior of the Hephaisteion," *Hesp.* 19 (1950):143ff; H.Koch, "Das Theseion in Athen," *Altertum* 1 (1951):82ff; H.Koch, "Der Garten des Hephaistos," *Studies presented to D.M.Robinson* I, St Louis (1951):356ff; C.Picard "L'Athéna Héphaïstia d'Alcamène" *Miscellanea Galbati*, Milan (1951) I, 19-25; H.Koch, "Studien zum 'Theseustempel' in Athen", *Abh.der Akad. der Wiss. zu Leipzig*, 48 (1952):108ff; C.Picard, "Pierres lancées dans les Jardins sacrés du 'Pseudo-Héphaisteion," *RA* 39-40 (1952):108ff; E.Boucher-Colozier, "Cherchel (Caesarea): note sur l'Athéna alcménienne" *Libyca* I (1953): 265-7; A.Frantz, "The Hephaisteion Revisited," *Archaeology* 7 (1954):244ff; S.Karouzou "Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion", *AM* 69-70 (1954-55): 67-94; H.Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen*, Berlin (1955); M.Ventris and J.Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, Cambridge (1956):127; R.E.Wycherley, "The Temple of Hephaistos," *JHS* 79 (1959):153ff; W.Burkert "Das Lied von Ares und Aphrodite", *RhM* 103 (1960):133; F.Brommer, "Die Geburt der Athena" *JbRGZM* 8 (1961):67-69; H.Morgan, *Hesp.* 31 (1962):210-35; H.A.Thompson, *AJA* 66 (1962):339-347; R.Meiggs, *G&R*, Suppl. to Vol. X (1963):37ff; H.Morgan, *Hesp.* 32 (1963):91-108; D.Thompson, *Garden Lore of Ancient Athens, Agora Picture book VIII*, Princeton (1963); I.S.Boersma, "Political Background on the Héphaisteion", *Bull. van Antieke Beschaving* 39 (1964):101-06; A.Frantz, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 19 (1965):202-205; Harrison, (1965):139; W.B.Dinsmoor, *Hesp.* 37 (1968):159ff; A.T.Hodge and R.A.Tomlinson, *AJA* 73 (1969):185-192; Sokolowski (1969), no.13; Travlos, (1971):261-73; W.Burkert, (1972):212-18; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):140ff; A.Delivorrias, *Attische Giebelskulpturen und Akrotere des fünften Jahrhunderts*, Tübingen (1974):45-47;

W.B.Dinsmoor, "The Roof of the Hephaisteion," *AJA* 80 (1976):223ff; E.B.Harrison, "Alkamenes' Sculptures for the Hephaisteion: Part I, The Cult Statues" *AJA* 81 (1977): 137-78; "Part II, The Base" id., 265-87; "Part III, Iconography and Style" id., p.411-26; Brommer, *Hephaistos*, Mainz (1978):75ff; S.Kaempf-Dimitriadou, *Die Liebe der Götter in der attischen Kunst des 5. Jhts. v. Chr.*, *Ant.K. Beih.* 11 (1979):72; E.H.Loeb, *Die Geburt der Götter in der attischen Kunst der klassischen Zeit*, Jerusalem, (1979):142-64; K.Schefold, *Die Göttersagen in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*, Munich (1981):273; Simon (1982):53; N.Robertson, "The Riddle of the Arrephoria at Athens" *HSClass.Phil.* (1983):286-88; C.N.Edmonson and W.F.Wyatt Jr., "The Ceiling of the Hephaisteion," *AJA* 88 (1984):135ff; J.Dörig, *La Frise est de l' Héphaisteion*, Mainz (1985); L.La Follette, "The Chalkotheke on the Athenian Akropolis," *Hesp.* 55 (1986):75-87; J.Dörig, *CR* 37 (1987):324; Livrea, "L'episodio libico nel quarto libro delle Argonautiche di Apollonio Rodio" *Quaderni Archeologia della Libya* 12 (1987):175-190; E.B.Harrison, "'Theseum' East Frieze and Colour Traces and attachment cuttings," *Hesp.* 57 (1988):339-349; S.Hiller, "Der Gott auf dem Vogelwagen: zu einem mitteleuropäischen Bildthema in der griechischen Kunst", in *Akten des 3. Österreichischen Archäologentages Innsbruck*, ed. P. Scherrer, Vienna (1989): 89-94; Camp, (1990):40; Shapiro, (1995):3; Townsend, (1995):75,89, 96-99; W.Pötscher, "Γλαύκη, Γλαῦκος und die Bedeutung von γλαυκός", *Rhein. Mus.* (1998):98-111.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the Temple of Hephaistos as being above the Agora and Basileios Stoa (Ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸν Κεραμεικὸν καὶ στοᾶν τὴν καλουμένην Βασιλείων ναὸς ἐστὶν Ἡφαίστου; for Pausanias' use of ὑπὲρ plus the accusative see *Index s.v. Temple of Demeter and Kore* and *Conclusion*). This temple has been identified as the 5th-century Doric temple which stands on the Kolonos Agoraios overlooking the Agora. Access to this temple seems to have been made through a passage and porch behind the Stoa Basileios (*Plate 2*; see *Index s.v. Stoas from the Gate to the Agora*). It seems that Pausanias wanted his 'readers' to use this route, otherwise there would have been no point in his singling out the Basileios Stoa, when the Zeus Stoa or Metroon complex would have been the more obvious choice. A large stairway was built in the Roman period to the north of the Hephaisteion (*Plate 13, top*; as suggested by the underpinnings, Pounder *supra* (1983):240). It was composed of three rows of packing stones, tiles, conglomerate fragments, and a sixth-century *krater* base (AA76 lot; it was originally considered to be a small Temple, as Travlos, (1971):79; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):142,n.127). It is known that there was a metal worker below the temple of Hephaistos (Dinsmoor, *supra*(1941):1; Andok.*De myst.*40). Fragments of bronze were found close to the temple which encourages the identification as the Hephaisteion.

The Temple on the Kolonos Agoraios is one of the best preserved Doric peripteral temples (*Plates 50-52*; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):140, fig.35). The Athenians promised they would begin to rebuild their religious buildings when the Persian threat had been removed (the so-called "Plataian Oath": Plut.*Perik.*17; Meiggs, *supra* (1963):37ff; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):143). From pottery found, combined with the stylistic dating of sculpture and other artefacts found in fills close by, the temple seems to date some time between 449 and 444, in keeping with the Peace of Kallias (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):143, and n.129; below the temple had been a simple shrine, Dinsmoor *supra* (1941):5,122ff,127, 149,fig.1; cf. Plat.*Criti.*112b). The architects of the temple are unknown, although Kallikrates has been suggested (Carpenter, (1970):102-109, 170-174; Hodge and Tomlinson, *supra* (1969):185-192). Floor, steps, walls and entablature were Pentelic marble and the sculpture, Parian (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):142, n.128; Morgan, *supra* (1963):101; for the Grilles see Stevens, *supra* (1950):165ff). The temple has six columns at either end and thirteen along each side (*Plate 50, middle*; see Dörig, *supra* (1985) for good photos). Two Doric columns stand between the *antae* at both the *pronaos* and the smaller *opisthodomos* (*Plate 52, bottom left, pronaos*).

The later nineteenth-century fashionable interment of bodies in the temple destroyed most of its floor (which had been greatly underpinned by poros blocks, Dinsmoor, *supra* (1941):72) and even cut into some of the foundations (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):143). However it can still be seen that some time during construction the cella was given a larger width than had been customary. This may have been to accommodate the inner colonnade inspired by the one designed by Iktinos in the Parthenon. Thus the walls stand on the outer edge of the foundations (Dinsmoor, *supra*(1941):37ff; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):144; Stevens, *supra* (1950):143ff; Broneer, *supra* (1945):24ff; Dinsmoor, *supra* (1945):364ff; Camp, (1990):39-45; for the internal colonnade, see Dinsmoor, *supra* (1968):159ff; Hill, *supra* (1949):190ff; the roof, see Dinsmoor, *supra* (1976):223). The exploits of both Herakles and Theseus were represented on the metopes (*Plates 50, top; 51, top left; 52, top*; Morgan, *supra* (1962):210-19; Olsen, *supra* (1938):276ff). The frieze of the inner east porch shows Theseus doing battle with the sons of Pallas (*Plate 52, middle*; Harrison, *supra* (1988):339-349; Dörig, *supra* (1985); Morgan, *supra* (1962):221-235). The frieze on the west side showed Theseus in the middle of Lapiths and Centaurs in his attempt to help Kaineus who is fighting two centaurs (Morgan, *supra* (1962):211ff, 221ff).

Shallow sockets on the floors of the triangular gable at either end indicate that the temple may have had pedimental sculpture (Thompson, *supra* (1949):230ff; Morgan,

supra (1963):91-108). Fragments of legs, hooves and feet, suggesting a centauromachy, may have come from the west pediment. Since they were found in a Roman context they may have been damaged by Sulla in 86. The east pediment remains a mystery. A large rectangular bedding has been cut on the pediment floor, which may have held a throne for a deity. It has been suggested that the theme was Herakles' introduction into the garden of the gods, since cuttings in the floor and wall have been interpreted as marks for a large serpent around a tree (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):148). A female statue of the Nereid type (S182) may have been an akroterion for this temple (Delivorrias, *supra* (1974):45-47; Shear, (1933):527ff). Also a fragment of two girls, one on the back of the other, was found in a well to the east of the temple and is thought to have been part of the central akroterion on the eastern pediment (Thompson, *supra* (1949):235f, 247f; Morgan, *supra* (1963):95, 97).

The cuttings in the rock for the *peribolos* wall indicate that the precinct was irregular in shape. It seems to have extended to the north up to the Hellenistic Arsenal, while to the east, a light terrace wall may have been built indicated by the shallow bedding there. A few conglomerate blocks at the south-west corner still *in situ* mark the boundary there (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):149). It is known that shrubs were planted around the Temple (Picard, *supra* (1952):108ff; Koch, *supra* (1951):356ff; D.Thompson, *supra*(1963):5). The holes dug for the plants on the north, south and west sides are Hellenistic. Plato described one around an ancient shrine of Hephaistos and Athena, older than the Hephaisteion, but the later temple may have inspired Plato to imagine one around the earlier monument (Pl.*Criti.*112b; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):149).

The cult statues possibly stood on a pedestal of Eleusinian limestone, surmounted by a white marble plinth (*Plate 53*; Dinsmoor, *supra* (1941):105ff; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):145). The base of the statues may have been decorated with marble relief figures, as indicated by cuttings on one Eleusinian block (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):146, n.145). The birth of Erichthonios may have been represented on the relief, although it has been thought that it was gone by the time Pausanias saw it, since he only says that he "knew" the story about Erichthonios rather than "saw" it (Harrison, *supra* (1977):422; cp. Nilsson I (1967):294f, Erichthonios and Erechtheus are the same). The Erichthonios story is of course the myth of Hephaistos' advance on Athena and his premature ejaculation which brought about the birth of Erichthonios (Shapiro(1995):14; Hyg. *fab.*166; Apollod.3.14.6). The fact that Hephaistos' altar stood in the Erechtheion recognises his connection with the birth (Paus.1.26.5). The cult statues may have been cast in a late 5th-century pit situated 10m to the south-west of the

Temple. It contained sand and fragments of clay moulds for drapery which on stylistic grounds are consistent with the date of the Temple as late fifth century.

Alkamenes sculpted an image of Hephaistos and the Athena in his temple (*IG I³* 472, dated 421/20-416/15; Stewart, (1990):26; Boucher-Colozier, *supra*(1953):265-7). The dedication of the cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena at this time may suggest that a revolution had taken place within the cult (*IG I³* 82, 421/0; Sokolowski, (1969), no.13; Simon, (1982):53; Harrison, *supra* (1977): 137-78, 265-87, 411-26; Camp, (1990):40). According to Pliny, Alkamenes, a pupil of Pheidias, was active in 448-445 and was still working after 403 when he made the colossal relief commemorating the ridding of the oligarchy from Athens (Stewart, (1990):164, 267). Pliny thought that the *demos* may have preferred Alkamenes to others because he was an Athenian not a foreigner (Plin.*NH* 36.16-17; Stewart, (1990):164,267).

The statue of Hephaistos was described as draped and standing. Hephaistos' disability was detectable but was hidden, so as not to not provoke criticism. Thus his characteristic was preserved but was sensitively rendered (Cic. *de nat. deor.*1.30.83; Val. Max. 8.2, ext.3; identified by Karouzou, *supra*(1954-55): 67-94). He is often shown with his double-headed axe, for instance he uses it to alleviate Zeus' head-ache allowing the birth of Athena to occur (Brommer, *supra* (1961): 67-69, also cited by Shapiro, (1995):13; note that he is possibly mentioned in a Linear B tablet from Knossos, Ventris and Chadwick, *supra* (1956):127; the double-headed axe was also a prominent symbol at Knossos). Although disabled, he was so skilled with his hands, a complete antithesis to the way he could move (Hom.*Il.*18, 417-18). His coupling with Aphrodite, at least in the *Odyssey*, clearly highlights the dichotomy; he is also said to be the husband of Charis, Oceanos' daughter (Hom. *Il.*18 382), or Aglaia, one of the Charites (Hes.*Th.*945-46). Since Hephaistos and Aphrodite are not shown as a pair in vase painting it has been suggested that the union of Hephaistos and Aphrodite is not rooted in cult (Burkert, *supra*(1960):133).

The statue of Athena may have been similar to a copy of a late 5th-century original, now in the Cherchel Museum (*LIMC* II, s.v. Athena no.251, "The Cherchel Athena"; Harrison, *supra* (1977):137-78). She has her weight on her right leg, while her left leg is drawn back. The shrunken face of Medusa rests between her breasts as the aegis is worn over her shoulder and across her body. In another marble copy of an original of the same date, Athena wears a Corinthian helmet and the aegis is on her collar (*LIMC* II s.v. Athena, no.247, "The Pallas of Velletri", Paris Louvre, MA 464). She probably held her spear (now lost) in her right hand and a cup or a Nike in her left. Pausanias does not mention who sculpted the image of Athena, but it is known from

another source that it had also been by the hand of Alkamenes (Picard, *supra* (1950): 189-90; *id. supra*(1951) I, 19-25; Boucher-Colozier, *supra*(1953): 265-7). Harrison has argued that the Velletri type represents the Athena of the Hephaisteion, while the Cherchel Athena goes back to an early 4th century original (Harrison, *supra* (1977):137-78). But this seems unlikely because the Velletri type does not look like the Prokne from the Athenian Akropolis believed by many to have been a work of Alkamenes (as Paus.1.24.3). The original of the "Velletri Athena" is also often considered to have been by Kresilas (*LIMC* II, 980, H.Cassimatis). A head in the Vatican and a torso in Athens have been linked with the statues seen by Pausanias (Stewart, (1990):268, citing Karouzou, *supra* (1954-55):67-94).

A floral decoration, an *anthemon*, which may have been positioned in between the statues Pausanias saw of Athena and Hephaistos, is mentioned in the building accounts (*IG* I2 370-371; Harrison, *supra*(1977):140, ill.2). The accounts record the receipts and expenditure for the years 421/420-416/415. To explain the large quantity of metal bought for the *anthemon* it has been proposed by Harrison that this floral decoration was large. This is in contrast with Travlos, who thought that the metal referred to the statues, which would imply that they may have been colossal (Travlos, (1971):272, fig.348). Harrison, however, argues that the metal belongs to the floral image and so can not refer to the statues (Harrison, *supra* (1977):143, following Reisch, *ÖJh* 1 (1898):57). She also argues that to that date only single standing statues are known to have been made of such a scale, for instance the Athena Parthenos, the Nemesis at Rhamnous and the Zeus from Olympia. If Harrison's arguments are agreed with, tin was probably used to coat bronze in order to give the flower a bright gleam (Harrison, *supra* (1977):143). But there is a problem with Harrison's conclusions. One glaring problem is the fact that there does not seem to be any implication or explicit mention in extant ancient literature which refers to a floral decoration made on such a scale which is connected to the cult statues of Hephaistos and Athena. The group envisaged by Harrison as standing in the Hephaisteion would have been too large for the Temple, which led her to think that this had in fact been the temple of Eukleia and that the so-called Hellenistic Arsenal was in fact the Hephaisteion (*Plate* 53; Harrison, *supra* (1977):133; other candidates see Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):142, n.124). This has been treated with scepticism (Stewart, (1990):268, cf. Mansfield, (1985):361-65). If anything one of the buildings could have been sacred to Aphrodite Ourania since her cult was close to the Hephaisteion. It seems unlikely to have been Eukleia (see *Index s.v. Aphrodite Ourania*). Like the relief on the base, Harrison concluded that the *anthemon*, since he is silent about this too, had disappeared by the time Pausanias visited the temple. The Athena from Cherchel could

be a copy of the original since she has a small floral emblem against her leg which may reflect the idea of the larger *anthemon* (see above), if indeed it is to be accepted that the 'flower' was huge.

Pausanias expresses amazement at seeing a statue of Athena with grey-green eyes. Originally the adjective *glaukos*, which Pausanias uses, meant shining. Pausanias does not mention Homer's use of the epithet γλαυκῶπις for Athena which seems unavoidable (see *Introduction* p.20, for Pausanias' knowledge of Homer and his acceptance of him as an authority on matters of contention). It is highly unlikely that Pausanias did not know of this epithet, so there must have been a reason why he omitted it from the discussion. The meaning of γλαυκῶπις as used in Homer may have referred, at least in Pausanias' time, not to the colour of her eyes but rather to the shape and their quality, possibly preserving an older traditional meaning of the epithet. In Homer the word seems to be used to accentuate the shape of the eyes by comparing them to the eyes of owls (γλαῦξ, an owl; Eur. *Herak.*754). In a similar way Pötscher (*supra*(1998):111), considers γλαυκή to be similar to ὕγρῃ, again accentuating a quality rather than the colour (the water connection linked with the fact that Glauke is a Nereid, see Pötscher, *supra* (1998):98). There was also a γλαῦξ θαλαττία which was a type of sea bird, equivalent to our sea-gull (Theophr.*de sign.temp.*52). The word γλαῦξ later becomes the colour grey-green (S.O.C.701; Eur.*Iph.Tau.*1101; *Troad.*802). It is also applied to grapes (S.*Tr.*703; vine leaves: *Anth.Pal.*9.87) and the green olive (γλαυκόχρως, Pi.*Ol.*3.13). Glauko was a name of the moon which also has a grey-green hue (schol Pi.*Ol.*6.76; Glaukos the King of Lycia, again Pötscher, *supra* (1998):100). There was a fish known as the *glaukos* (Antiph.7.6). Its name seems to have originated from the colour of its scales and becomes used as an epithet of the sea (cf. Glaukos, the sea god). A number of sixth-century dedications to γλαυκόπιδι κόρει have been found on the Athenian Akropolis which attests to the antiquity of the epithet (for instance: *IG I³* 507, lines 4-5: γλ/-αυ[ρ]όπιδι : ρόρ[ει]; Attic letters; Raubitschek, (1949):352; *IG I³* 508, right side: ...γλ[α]-/υρόπιδ[ι] ρόρ[ει]; this side boustrophedon; Attic letters: c.562-558; Raubitschek, (1949):327).

In the second century AD the colour 'grey-green' was not commended, which may have been the reason for Pausanias' amazement (Philost.*Vit.Apoll.* 7.42). Pausanias had researched a Libyan tradition which considered Athena to be the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis, thus explaining her "grey-green eyes like Poseidon's". One version has Athena born next to Lake Tritonis to be found and nurtured by three goat-skin clad nymphs (Apollon.4.1311: ...ἀντόμεναι Τρίτωνος ἐφ' ὕδασι χυτλαύσαντο; for the episode see Livrea, *supra* (1987):175-190). According to one account, Athena accidentally killed Pallas, the daughter of Triton, as they fought each other in mock

battle. As a result of her grief, Athena put Pallas' name before her own and left for Greece via Crete (Apollod.3.12.2 however there were numerous traditions of who Pallas was, all of which seem to be linked to Athena in some way in an attempt to explain her epithet *Pallas* and create a mythology for it, Tzetzes *on Lyk.* 355; Hes.*Th.*376, 383, Paus.7.26.5, Apollod.2.2-4; *Hom.H.Merc.*; Hyg. *fab.*244, Apollod. *Epitom.* I.11, Eur.*Hipp.*34-7, Paus.1.22.2, 1.28.10). Neith the Libyan goddess, was associated with Athena (Plat.*Tim.*5) she had a temple at Sais on the Nile Delta and Neith, like Athena, was equated with Isis in Egyptian religion (Plut. *de Iside* 9.354c) where the priestesses fought each other, which seems to echo the myth that Athena fought Pallas (Hdt.4.180).

At Athens Athena was worshipped as Hephaistia alongside Hephaistos (*IG* II² 223, lines 3-4: ...τὸ τε ἄγα/-[λμα --τῶι Ἡφαίστῳ(?) καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, τῇ Ἡφαιστία, 343/2; Plat.*Criti.*112b). Athena could be shown beside craftsmen. In some instances Hephaistos is also present (*LIMC* II, s.v. Athena no.40, pl.707; Akrop.Mus.166; *LIMC* II, s.v. Athena no.42, pl.707). A dedication of a marble relief found on the Akropolis shows male worker handing Athena something, possibly money (*LIMC* II, s.v. Athena no.52, Akrop.Mus.577). It dates to about 480-70. Athena wears her aegis, and under her *himation*, her *chiton* has curly creases. Such clothing is also seen in other representations of seated females apparently working at spinning wool (Neils, (1992):137; Terracotta reliefs: Akr.Mus.no.13055, c.500 and no.13057, c.500, Neils, (1991):138, figs.92 and 93; also possibly Akrop.Mus.625 "Endoios Athena"; Junker, *supra* (1995):755ff). Under her guise as Ergane, 'worker', she had a strong connection with Hephaistos and was honoured jointly with him at the festival of the Chalkeia in Athens (Plut. *de fort.*4: τὴν γὰρ Ἐργάνην [καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν] αἱ τέχναι πάρεδρον, οὐ τὴν Τύχην ἔχουσιν; Suda s.v. Χαλκεῖα). The co-called Chalkotheke on the Akropolis may have been sacred to Athena Ergane, since she only received dedications after the end of the 5th century, beginning of the 4th century (e.g. *IG* II² 5796) which ties in with the date of the inventory inscriptions which mention the Chalkotheke (for the date see La Follette, *supra* (1986):79). Also the order of the buildings mentioned by Pausanias prompts such an identification (Paus.1.24.3).

The Athenians celebrated the *Hephaisteia* in honour of the god (Shapiro, (1995):3, n.23). The time of year when the festival took place is unknown, although Mounychia has been suggested (Simon, (1982):53). It was a lavish festival, with torch races, musical competitions in which people from each of the ten tribes took part and where many oxen were sacrificed. A red figured cup in Florence is believed to represent the festival since the outside shows a bull driven by youths to another who holds a knife, while to the rear of these on the other side of the pot, three riding youths apparently in a

race are heading towards a post where another youth blows a long trumpet (Shapiro, (1995):5). Athenians carried torches from the hearth in Hephaistos' temple singing hymns to the god in thanks for the gift of fire (Ister, *FGrHist* III b 334 F2, from Harpokrat. s.v. λαμπάς; Shapiro, (1995):2, and nn.11,12; Simon, (1980): 215). The Priest of Hephaistos had his seat reserved for him in the Theatre of Dionysos (*IG* II² 5069:ἱερέως/ Ἡφαίστου; other instances where the priest is mentioned include *IG* II² 1948 line 4: ἱερέως Ἡφαίστου; a dedication to Demeter and Kore by the priest of Hephaistos, *IG* II² 2868: Ἀριστόνικος Ἀριστονίκου Οἰναῖος ἱερεὺς Ἡφαίστου Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι] ἀνέθηκεν, found near Panag. Pyrgiotissa. Pentelic base).

14.7 Aphrodite Ourania

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Commentary: Pausanias describes the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania as being next to (πλησίον) the Hephaisteion. It has not yet been firmly identified.

The remains of a later Roman prostyle-podium temple were found to the north of the Agora, facing south. An altar stood c.2.20m in front of it (see below). The temple seems to have been of mediocre design (Shear Jr., (1984):33-37). The bulk of the fill dates to the 1st century AD, but nothing precisely dates the construction. The fill's diverse contents makes it difficult to identify an individual cult. In the actual ash deposit were found an iron finger ring, polished gaming knuckle bones and terracotta animal figurines (Shear Jr., (1984):37). Since the temple is Roman, it is unlikely that Pausanias would have wanted to include it in his description of Athens (*see pp.25, 31, 36*).

A rectangular 6th-century altar, with a limestone base with three of the six marble orthostates was found to the north of the Agora, west of that believed to be the Stoa Poikile (*Plate 13, top*; Shear Jr., (1984):24-40; see *Index s.v. Poikile Stoa*). It is thought that this altar may have been sacred to Aphrodite Ourania (Osanna, *supra* (1988-89):73-95). The platform measured 5.08m by 2.40m, while the original length of the altar, which lies on an east-west axis, has been estimated to c.4.42m, the width on the south end measuring 1.585m. It was repaired in the third quarter of the 5th century at the same time as the archaic Altar of the Twelve Gods (Shear Jr., (1984):32,n.51, 31, n.48, also 30; see *Index s.v. Altar of Pity*). Burnt animal bones, mostly ovicaprid, suggesting ritual sacrifice and consumption, were found within the fill of the altar (Foster, *supra*(1984):73-82, summary, p.82; no cattle bones were found, but some belong to pigs; Reese, *supra* (1989):63-70). The sacrifice of sheep or goats is not wholly confined to Aphrodite (Reese, *supra* (1989):68, Altar I on Mytilene, sacred to Demeter, early 4th to late 1st century: sheep or goat femurs; and Kition, on Cyprus, sacred to Apollo Hylates: young sheep and goats; female goats were offered to Artemis, as well as to Aphrodite). The

original report by Foster claimed that bird bones were found in the remains, but Reese found none present (Reese, *supra* (1989):63). Sixty eight of the bones can be aged, most of these (53 in total) age between 3-6 months, 11 are over 3-6 months while 2 are about 2½ to 3 years old. Since the mean foaling time for these animals is mid-January, the estimated time of the year for the animals' sacrifice would be between mid-April and mid-July (Foster, *supra* (1984):80, the age of the bones estimated after having allowed for shrinkage; updated by Reese, *supra* (1989):66, 68; cf. Kadletz, *supra* (1976):10-25, 274-77). It does not necessarily follow that all the remains found within the fill of the altar had come from cult activity on the altar itself, they may have come from a nearby sanctuary dump (Shear Jr., (1984):32). To the north of the altar a well was found which contained two or three terracotta figures of a seated female deity, drinking cups, lamps and loom weights (*AR* (1994-95):8). Shear pointed out that there was "little material to connect" the well with the worship of Ourania at the altar. The contents of the well suggests a mother goddess, Ergane or even Demeter. The pig bones also found there encourage the link with the Eleusinian goddesses who received the sacrifice of swine (the Pherrephation?; see *Index s.vv. Leokoreion, Bronze Bull*). The lamps, drinking cups, loom weights and the fact that it bordered or was part of the Kerameikos, may be indicative of the proximity of a brothel (see *Index s.vv. Leokoreion, Kerameikos*).

The altar has been thought sacred to Aphrodite Ourania. Shear argues that the "juxtaposition" of the gate, sanctuary, stoa and this temple "adds vital confirmation to their identity" (Shear Jr., (1983):40). But it is the very juxtaposition of these monuments which opposes the identification of this temple and altar being the Ourania sanctuary mentioned by Pausanias, since the Ourania sanctuary was not directly next to the Poikile Stoa, Gate and Hermes Agoraios (see *Conclusion*). His language makes it very clear that he was still "close to" the Hephaistos Temple when he described the Aphrodite Ourania *Hieron*, and had not yet begun approaching the Stoa Poikile.

So how close to the Hephaisteion was the *hieron* of Aphrodite Ourania which Pausanias mentions? Remains of a small Roman building were discovered to the north-east of the Hephaisteion along with an Hellenistic well (G5:3, no later than the mid-2nd century, Harrison, (1965):168; Rotroff, *supra* (1983):278-82). The well contained the bones of more than one hundred infants and over 85 dogs, which suggests a chthonic divinity or a fertility cult. Also found in the well was a female herm (S1086; H.0.325; Harrison, (1965):167-9, Pl.58), which was one of the guises of Aphrodite Ourania (Paus.1.19.2; *LIMC* II, 10, A.Delivorrias, *et al.*). It has no dowel holes for sockets on the sides which suggests that it "may be" unfinished (Harrison, (1965):168), but since it is shown with drapery it could indicate that there was no need for arms. Hermes was often

seen alongside Aphrodite to help fertility (mid-fourth-century treasury record in the Temple of Aphrodite in the Heraion at Samos, Harrison, (1965):138-39; Buschor, *supra*(1957):77-86). The fertility aspect of male herms is well known. There are strong indications that the cult of Aphrodite Ourania was primarily a *fertility cult* (as the Aigeus founding myth described here by Pausanias suggests, see below). This would explain why the bones of c.175 infants: 155 pairs of scapulae of new born or full term foetuses were found in the well along with a number of older infants (Angel, *supra* (1945):311-12). It may have been some attempt to placate or beseech the goddess as a result of a large amount of infant fatalities (Shear, (1939):238-39). If this had been the motive behind the mass burial, a plague or epidemic unknown from any other record could have been the cause. The presence of dogs in the well may suggest purificatory sacrifices which were offered to a birth goddess after childbirth, since they were the cheapest offering (Nilsson, (1955) I²:95,105). This female Herm may have then been buried alongside the childrens' bodies and a new statue of Ourania dedicated, which would have been seen by Pausanias. The bodies of the children, the dogs and the female Herm point to a female deity, possibly chthonic and probably associated with fertility. Artemis could also be represented as a herm (Harrison, (1965):139) and was also known as a fertility goddess. Ourania suggests itself not least because she was represented as a herm (as Paus.1.19.1), her cult was established in Athens as a result of Aigeus' fertility problem (see below) and from Pausanias' description her cult had been located on the Kolonos Agoraios near the well.

Terracotta figurines were found along with other material from the Kolonos Agoraios in the supplement fill of a cistern (grid E6, Thompson, *supra*(1965):48-49). They included a stone fragment of a horse hoof, considered to have been part of the Hephaisteion pediment (Rotroff, *supra*(1983):296). It also contained among other things, 12 Knidian amphora handles (four dating to 188-176, SS 6511,6515, 6518, 6517; deposit E6:1, E6:2; Rotroff, *supra* (1983):280, n.84). If the contents mostly derive from the Kolonos Agoraios there may be a connection between the Knidian handles and the Aphrodite Ourania cult whose place of worship may have also been on the hill.

The so-called coroplasts dump on the north slope of the Agora, just west of the Valerian Wall, contained many figurines and moulds suggestive of the Aphrodite Cult (Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff:120ff, their catalogue numbers follow). In the south pit were pieces dating to 330-20, and the final filling 320-300 (Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, (1987):219, No.25). Found there were female ritual figurines, prophylactic figures, a herm, a hermaphrodite mould, which is rare to find on the Greek mainland at this time, protomes and masks which have buds and leaves over the forehead, a popular

feature from Graeco-Roman Egypt (T1763; Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, (1987):228, n.179). Also found was a tailless baboon which was a popular Graeco-Roman terracotta motif (Thoth; Thompson, Thompson and Rotroff, (1987):230, n.165). The mould for a shell was found in a late 5th-century deposit (no.61, Agora T1529; cf. *Hesp.* 18 (1949):339, no.12, pl.99, found on the south slope of the Kolonos Agoraios).

The so-called 'Hellenistic Arsenal' is the only other building in close proximity to the Hephaisteion, which was probably standing when Pausanias visited Athens. It was built c.270/60 inspired by Philon's arsenal in the Piraeus (*Plate 54, bottom*; Pounder, *supra* (1983):249). This was a large construction, it had buttressed walls, three interior aisles, and the water from the roof was carried under the foundations into cisterns (Camp, (1990):45). A treasury box of Aphrodite Ourania was found reused in a house at 19 Odos Epicharinou in Plaka (Tsakos, *supra* (1990-91):17-21; *SEG* 41 (1991):182). Two cuboid blocks of Pentelic marble fit together, forming a two-tiered treasury, which has a hole in the top for the deposit of coins, which would have been collected in the hollow which goes through the middle of the top block and into the top of the lower block. The block is inscribed: Θησαυρὸς ἀπαρχῆς ὁ/ Ἀφροδίτῃ Οὐρανίαι/ Προτέλεια γάμο (for other thesauroi see Kaminsky, *supra*(1991):154, this one is no.15).

Pausanias describes the statue of Aphrodite as being a Parian marble image by Pheidias. Pheidias had made another image of Aphrodite Ourania at Elis, where she had her foot on a tortoise (Paus.5.25.1; Schober, *supra* (1922-24):222-228). It is not known how the image of Aphrodite Pausanias saw on the Kolonos Agoraios was portrayed, it is unlikely that she was shown in the same way as Pheidias' image at Elis, but it can not be said for sure. Therefore what follows is a brief discussion of the various images thought to be Aphrodite in her guise as Ourania, followed by a concluding discussion. A copy of what is thought to be Pheidias' statue stands seductively with her weight on her right leg, while her left foot rests on the back of a turtle (*LIMC* II s.v. Aphrodite no.175, no.177, pl.20, Berlin, Staatl. SK 1459 (K5)). The bulge of her lower abdomen is tantalisingly accentuated by the sculptor's clever detailing of the drapery folds, which seem to lap around her. The bottom half of her *himation* has been swung over her left thigh. The cloth will not fall since her left leg is high enough to prevent its slipping (cf. *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite, no.182).

Why associate Aphrodite Ourania with a tortoise? According to Plutarch, the tortoise symbolised good housekeeping and silence (Plut. *Thes.*3.5; cf Plut. *Conj.Praec.* 32=*Moralia* 142D), while for Settis the tortoise is a heavenly symbol (Settis, *supra*(1966), which is rejected both by the reviewer, Niemeyer *supra* (1969):188, who believed the tortoise was a terrestrial image, and by Knigge, *supra* (1982):165, n.96, who

preferred Plutarch's explanation). The answer lies in the meaning of the word *χελώνη*. It seems that, unless the context is clear, an attempt is made to indicate which of the two creatures is meant, land or sea (sea turtle: *Com.*29 *ποντιάς χ.*; Arist. *PA*671a28 *χ. θαλασσία*; Ael. *VH*1.6; Paus.1.44.8; land tortoise: *Hom.Hymn Hermes*,42; Orac. ap. Hdt.1.47; Ar.*V.* 1292; Plut.2.1082e; Apollod.3.10.2). Pausanias himself highlights the difference between the two creatures, the sea-tortoise being like the land tortoise except in size and feet (Paus.1.44.8). Aphrodite probably had her foot on a turtle. According to the Hesiodic tradition, Aphrodite was born from the surf which surrounded the genitals of her father Ouranos, which had been cut off and thrown into the sea (Hes.*Th.*188-206, esp.190-197; Aphrodite from Aphros, "foam", as it was believed in the ancient world, perhaps incorrectly, while Ourania from Ouranos). Also the turtle is known to have a particularly high sex drive, which may have explained why the ancients preferred to associate *this* sea creature with Aphrodite (the Chinese also associate the turtle with woman). Hesychius records the fact that a masculine version of the word meant a sea-tortoise, s.v. *χελωνός* and most of the words which share the same root have some connection with the sea, for instance: *χέλειον*, crab-shell; *χελιδονίδα*, a kind of tunny-fish; *χελλών*, or *χελών*, a kind of mullet. It is also worth noting that the flippers on the image on the 'sixth' stater bronze weight found near the Tholos in Athens appears to resemble a turtle more than a tortoise (Camp, (1990):250-51, fig.131).

Copies are known of the image from Olympia, but there is no description of the image Pausanias saw at Athens (*LIMC* II, 27-28, a.Delivorrias, *et al.*) which may suggest that it was a statue of the goddess without any extra identifying features, apart from her teasing drapery (*LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite *passim*). Pausanias does not describe the statue of Aphrodite Ourania he saw beside the Hephaisteion as being a Herm, as he does in his description of the Aphrodite Ourania over by the "gardens" area (Paus.1.19.2; *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite nos.193-96), which seems to suggest that this statue by the Hephaisteion was not a Herm. However, in some instances Aphrodite leans on a male or female Herm (for example, *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite no.605, pl.59). A female head was found in a first-century AD context near the Hephaisteion and is thought to be Pheidian (H.A.Thompson, (1937):1-226, p.168, n.1; Harrison, (1984):379ff, Pl.73, a-d). The lower part of her face is rounded and she has bunches of curls in front of her ears which is common in representations of brides on 5th-century Attic vases (for instance a *lebes gamikos* by the Washing Painter, Ath. NM 14790, *ARV*² p.1126, no.4). This type is often referred to as the "Sappho" type (Harrison, (1984):379; *LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite nos.149-156; cf. no.152, "Kore Albani type" found near the Olympieion). At least eighteen replicas of this head are known, many of which are Herms. Since only the head of this statue is copied, it

suggests that the body was not as interesting, possibly a Herm shaft (Strocka, *supra* (1967):140-42; Scheibler, *supra* (1973):214-15; Vierendeel-Schlörb, *supra* (1979):106-115; Harrison, (1984):379, n.2). One statue whose head is a copy of this type, has heavy, straight drapery, and if the head represents a cult statue of Aphrodite at Athens it may resemble the image seen by Pausanias (Harrison, (1984):382).

It seems unlikely that Pheidias would have been working in the Agora, when so much was being done on the Akropolis. It was not until the 420's that work resumed in the Agora, by which time Pheidias was in permanent exile. Because of this Alkamenes may have been the sculptor, especially since Pausanias was wrong elsewhere in his belief that Pheidias was the sculptor of certain works of art (for instance the images of the Mother of the Gods in the Athenian Agora and the Nemesis of Rhamnous, which had probably been works of Agorakritos; Harrison, (1984):388).

Another image believed to be Aphrodite Ourania may be seen where she is represented with or near a ladder. Two joining fragments of a classical votive relief depict a woman on a ladder (Edwards, *supra*(1984):59-66) Two rungs of the ladder can be seen, the top disappears behind the top of the frame. In her raised right hand she holds a wide bowl, which has a small handle and flared foot, most similar in design to late 5th-century incense burners (Edwards, *supra* (1984):60, where he also compares the simple moulding along the top with other examples from the late 5th century, including the Nike parapet and Erechtheion frieze (also note 7), and Waywell, *supra* (1967):22, note34). It has been argued that this depicts Aphrodite Ourania, since she was connected with brides, often represented as mounting a ladder to the second floor, to the bridal chamber. The thalamos, was in the women's area on the upper floor in wealthier homes; where the climbing of ladder by a woman is represented it is shown especially on a *lebes gamikos* (Edwards, *supra* (1984):62-64, where he claims that the ladder and attendants represent the events of the night before).

Also linked with Aphrodite Ourania is a very fine silver amulet was found which shows Aphrodite riding on a goat through stars in the sky (Knigge, (1991):94, fig.86). A wreath is held above her head by a winged youth (Eros?), there is also shown a ladder, and two small kids trip along at the bottom of the amulet (found in building Z3 in the Kerameikos near the sacred gate, see Davidson, (1997):80,85-91 on the building's use as a house of prostitutes). Small images of a goddess were also found in the house, possibly possessions of female slaves who worked the looms (Knigge, (1991):93). In a great number of these Aphrodite plucks her himation which covers the back of her head, with her right hand (Mitropoulou, *supra* (1975):*passim*). Her left hand in most instances holds either the neck or the head of the goat, which is in fact male (Mitropoulou, *supra*

(1975):20-21, no.14). Stars are shown in the sky and often small kids scamper beneath the body of the goat. One is reminded of Europa as she rode on the back of her bull. Eros is also sometimes present, usually flying around her. A ladder also seen in a number of instances (Mitropoulou, *supra* (1975):nos.1, 13(?), 15, 16). In the silver amulet mentioned above, Hermes is seen leading her to the left, in another instance he leads her on the back of her goat (Mitropoulou, *supra* (1975), no.19). In this instance he carries a *kottabos*. Therefore the context seems to be indicative of her presence at a symposium, this further supports Davidson's belief that building Z in the Kerameikos had in fact been a house for a certain class of prostitutes. The presence of the stars and the ladder which rises to the sky in certain instances strongly suggests the cult of Aphrodite Ourania. However, it is still not known for certain which of these guises the image of Aphrodite Ourania Pausanias saw on the Kolonos Agoraios was represented in. It is more than likely that the statue of her could be identified as Aphrodite, due to the nature of her drapery. She need not have had any particular identifying features which would have marked her out as Ourania especially, rather the epithet may have even been given to her after the cult of Aphrodite had been established on the hill. But the question remains open.

Pausanias traces the history of the cult claiming that the Assyrians were the first to worship Ourania. This follows an established tradition that the whole worship of Aphrodite came from the east (Hdt.1.105). Herodotus believed that Askalon, one of five chief cities of Philistia, 39 miles south-west of Jerusalem, was the home of the oldest Aphrodite shrine. Aphrodite is the mother of Aeneas by the Trojan Anchises, further linking her with the Near East and in *Hom.HymnAphr.*66-80, Aphrodite prepares herself on Cyprus for her liaison with Anchises, this tradition mirrors the main location of her cult (cf. Frangeskou, *supra* (1995):1-16; Servais-Soyez, *supra* (1983):191-207, esp.194-96). The Assyrians worshipped the goddess Inana (Ishtar). In Sumerian, she was called Ninana, meaning "Lady of Heaven." She could be represented surrounded by stars, which may be where the association with Aphrodite Ourania came from (cylinder seal illustrated in Black and Green, (1992):108, pl.87, bottom image).

Pausanias claims that the cult of Aphrodite Ourania then went to Cyprus. There are strong archaeological grounds on which to establish a transmigration of a female cult from the Near East to Cyprus (*LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite nos.98-110, pls.13-15). Later, Pausanias is to claim that the Tegean king Agapenor built the Temple of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos (Old Paphos) on his way home from Troy (Paus.8.5.2; cf Paus.8.53.7; Karageorghis *supra* (1993):130, review by Muhly, *supra* (1996):81; also Lawrence, (1996):58). The design of the sanctuary is not Greek, more like the tripartite buildings of

the Near East, which further substantiates Pausanias' comment that the Ourania cult originated from this part of the Mediterranean (*Plate 54 top*; Vermeule, *supra* (1976):90-91, figs.27,28, Westholm, *supra* (1933):201-236; Fitikides, *supra* (1969):2ff). The central shrine at Paphos was covered by an awning as is evidenced from the existence of post-holes (Tac.*Hist.*2.3; the hieron at Elis also stood open to the air, Paus.6.25.1). It is known that the cult statue of Aphrodite at Paphos was aniconic (*LIMC* II, s.v. Aphrodite no.1a-1b, pl.6; Tatton-Brown, (1987):pls.51a, 60). Aniconic posts were also erected next to altars of the goddess Astarte, a practice found in Cyprus, Phoenicia and in the Near East (Harrison, (1965):138-9).

Pausanias mentions that the inhabitants of Kythera, an island off the Peloponnesos, were taught to worship Aphrodite Ourania by the Phoenicians (cf. Hes.*Th.*190-97: Aphrodite had been conveyed in her "unborn state" by the waves to Kythera; thus Pausanias was following an earlier literary tradition of the route the cult of Aphrodite took on her way to Greece). Further to this Pausanias later remarks that the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in Kythera was the most holy and oldest of all Aphrodite sanctuaries in Greece (Paus.3.23.1). Thus Pausanias is consistent in identifying the first place in Greece to worship Aphrodite.

Ourania was essentially a fertility goddess which the mythology surrounding the establishment of her cult makes clear. Pausanias credits Aigeus with establishing the Ourania cult at Athens as a result of his seeking the oracle at Delphi because he was childless at the time. This myth is first mentioned in Euripides (Eur.*Med.*679, and schol.). Aigeus consulted the Delphic oracle, who answered him with a riddle. The words of the oracle which stated that he should not "loosen his wine-skin", could be interpreted as being phallic imagery (Gilula, *supra* (1981/82):15,n.4). It was as a result of his subsequent liaison with Aithra that he brought about his own death. For Aithra had Theseus, whose subsequent homecoming caused Aigeus' death. Thus if Aigeus had not "[loosened] his wine-skin" he would not have had a son as a result of the union and so would not have caused his own death. The oracle then was a warning against him having a son (cf.Apollod.3.15.6). There was also another interpretation of the riddle that he should not travel, and so should not return to Athens, i.e. taking a wine-skin to drink from (Plut.*Thes.*3.5; Gilula, *supra* (1981):14-18, discusses Parke and Wormell's (1956) suggestion that Euripides must have adapted the text to fit the scansion, since the Pythian oracle was an hexameter, whereas that told by Euripides is iambic).

In the Classical period, Aphrodite Ourania was perceived as representing spiritual and intellectual love, whereas the cult of Aphrodite Pandemos, represented carnal love (Pl.*Symp.*180 d-181; X.*Symp.*8.9-10). In Pausanias' time, she was distinct from

Pandemos, and represented pure love and the rejection of lust (Paus.9.16.3-4). Pandemos represented intercourse, and Apostrophia rejected unlawful and offensive behaviour (Pirenne-Delforge, *supra* (1988): 142-57). There were a number of temples to Aphrodite Ourania in Greece (Paus.2.23.8, 3.23.1, 6.20.6, 6.25.1, 8.32.2).

15.1 Hermes Agoraios

Bibliography: A.von Domaszewski, *Die Hermes der Agora zu Athen*, Heidelberg (1914):7; Judeich, (1931):369; R.Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque*, Paris (1951):175, 191; Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner^{rev}, (1964):149, no.12, pl.DDXX and pl.DD XIX; Shapiro, (1989):5-8; M.Osanna, "Il culto di Hermes Agoraios ad Atene", *Ostraka I* (1992):215-22.

Commentary: Pausanias begins the new section with a present participle (ἰοῦσι; see *Introduction p.16*). He was now approaching the Poikile Stoa. On his way to the Stoa he describes the Hermes Agoraios and a Gate. The Hermes Agoraios image is described in Lucian's text as being παρὰ ("beside") the Poikile, which substantiates Pausanias' description (Luc. *Jup. trag.* 33, and schol.).

Since this image of Hermes was called 'Agoraios' the statue probably stood visible in the Market-place (schol. *Ar.Eq.* 297: ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἵδρυται Ἑρμοῦ ἀγοραίου ἄγαλμα). It was set up by Archias of Kebris (Hesych. s.v. Ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς, quoting Philochoros in the third book of his *History of Attika*= FGrHist 328 F31). The location of the image has not been agreed upon, and although many have argued that this Hermes and the Poikile were on the north side of the Agora, there seems to be a case for the east side (see *Index s.v. Poikile*).

The altar on the north side of the Agora currently identified with the cult of Aphrodite Ourania, dates to the end of the 6th, beginning of the 5th century from the pottery found (see *Index s.v. Aphrodite Ourania*). It was renovated c.430-20, and then in the early Imperial period the area was transformed, including the building of the Augustan podium style temple, and the south-east part restored (Shapiro, (1989):5-8). If the Hermes Agoraios stood over on the north side, then possibly the altar had in fact been sacred to Hermes Agoraios, since at the end of the 6th century in the archonship of Kebris the cult was founded (Osanna, *supra* (1989):221). Then c.430-20 the altar was rededicated under the hipparch Kallistratos, son of Ampedos, of Aphidna ([Plut.] *Vit.X.Orat.* 834d-844b; Osanna, *supra* (1992):220).

Although Hermes was often shown as a Herm, Hermes Agoraios may have been fully anthropomorphic (Harrison, (1965):112; Martin, (1951):191-94; cf.Domaszewski, *supra* (1914):7). It is known that the image of Hermes Agoraios was popular in antiquity

as a number of copies of it were made (Luc. *Zeus Trag.* 33, "...rather, Hermes, he is your brother, the Agoraios, beside the Poikile (παρὰ τὴν Ποικίλῃν); he is covered with pitch, everyday he has his impression taken by statue makers"). It seemsd likely been suggested that the Hermes Agoraios seen by Pausanias was not a Herm, because there are a number of representations, especially on coins, of nude archaic statues of Hermes, identified by his characteristic caduceus held in his hand (Lacroix, pp.69ff.; tetradr., bearded Hermes, caduceus in LH: Imhoof-Blumer^{rev} p.149, no.12, pl.DDXX; Imhoof-Blumer^{rev} pl.DD XIX, terminal figure, again caduceus held in LH), which may well represent this Hermes statue in the Agora.

15.1 Gate near the Poikile

Bibliography: Ferguson, *Hesp.*17 (1948):114; Meritt, *Hesp.* 26 (1957):87; Shear Jr., (1973):385-98; Shear Jr., (1981):356-77; Shear Jr., (1984):19-24, fig.12.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions a gate which stood next to the bronze statue of *Hermes Agoraios*, and the *Stoa Poikile*. It has been suggested that the foundations of a gate found adjacent to the Stoa currently believed to be the Poikile Stoa belong to the one Pausanias saw (*Plate 13, top*; Shear Jr., (1984):19-24; fig.12). Each side is built on a foundation of poros blocks, made up of at least two layers of four headers and four stretchers, dating to the end of the 4th or beginning of the 3rd century, from the pottery in the foundations. The distance between the jambs of the gateway, is c.2.50m. In between is a course of hard packed gravel. A curb stone was later positioned next to the east jamb of the gate, to prevent traffic damaging it.

However from Pausanias' description it may be inferred that the Poikile Stoa was in fact on the south east side of the Agora (see *Index s.v. Poikile Stoa*). If this was the case, the large arched marble gateway found adjacent to the Stoa of Attalos on the south side may have been the one mentioned by Pausanias (*Plates 55, top; 13, top*; Frantz, (1988):pl.14d, 48b, 49, the "Pyrgiotissa Gate, called after the church which was later built over it). It allowed pedestrians access to the Roman Agora via a street which joined the two Agoras, and since Pausanias goes on to describe the altars in that Market-place it may have been this gateway he walked through. The original exterior of the stairway which lead up the side of the Stoa of Attalos was dismantled to allow a marble platform to be built in front of this gateway (*Plate 55, middle right*; Shear Jr., (1981):371, shown to me on site by Professor Shear). The fact that the *Demos* paid for the marble indicates the importance of this area at this time (the Pantainos inscription, Shear Jr., (1973):389, no.2).

Pausanias describes a trophy on top of the gateway, erected by the Athenians to commemorate their cavalry victory over Pleistarchus, the brother of Kassander. The size of the gateway on the north side of the Agora is rather large for just a trophy, whereas that on the south side of the Attalos Stoa has smaller dimensions which would comfortably accommodate a trophy. It has been suggested that originally the large gateway on the north side of the Agora had been surmounted by a life-size equestrian statue, whose remains have been found (Shear Jr., (1984) fig.3; one leg, a sword, drapery and fittings of a gilded bronze statue). The size of the remains fit the dimensions of the larger gateway. This statue may have been of Demetrios Poliorketes which was probably disposed of in the period of *damnatio memoriae*. However, Pausanias' mention of the victory to which the trophy was a memorial is the only literary attestation, therefore it is not known which battle this refers to. From a mutilated text of a decree of Akamantis, the name Pleistarchus is preserved, which may refer to the defeated general mentioned by Pausanias (Ferguson, *supra* (1948):114, line 6; cf. pp.12-29). The text dates to 303/2, which is in keeping with the date of Pleistarchus.

It is, however, worth noting that the word Pausanias uses for the gate is πύλη, in the singular, rather than the plural. The words refer to the formats of the gateways, rather than it being a mere peculiarity of Pausanias' style (Paus.2.16.5, the lions stand over the gateway, which is of course the famous Lion Gateway at Mycenae; Boardman, (1985) fig.8; cf Paus.7.20.7, at Patrai, on which is also mounted a dedication: statues of Patreus, Preuges and Atherion). When describing the Dipylon (its very name suggesting two gates), Pausanias uses the plural, whereas here he uses the singular, so one would expect a single gateway near the Poikile.

Pausanias states that the Hermes Agoraios and the Gate are on the way to the Poikile Stoa, which does not imply that the Gate stood adjacent to the Poikile Stoa. The fact that the east jamb of the gate to the north of the Agora actually covers part of the west foundations of the stoa there, would seem to indicate that this can not be the gateway referred to by Pausanias.

15.1 Poikile Stoa

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Commentary: Pausanias describes the Poikile Stoa as containing a number of paintings. It is currently thought that the small area of large foundations so far excavated along the northern edge of the Agora belong to the Stoa Poikile (Shear Jr., (1984):5-19). The building's estimated measurements are 12.60m corner to corner and 2.68m in width. The architectural fragments found close by are too small to be able to be assigned to this building with any certainty, but it seems possible that it was Doric (Shear Jr., (1984):8, n.9). A triglyph frieze was found near the north-west corner of the foundations, made of the same hard poros stone as the western steps, which makes it likely that the triglyph frieze can be assigned to this building. Its orientation closely follows that of the river Eridanos. A bench was probably placed along its north wall indicated by a single course of roughly worked poros blocks (Shear Jr., (1984):12-13; H.A.Thompson, (1937):23; Shear Jr., (1971):244). The building's west end, angled towards the Agora, had an extra

step, which showed signs of wear. This has been taken to suggest that this building was the Poikile, since it is known from authors of the second century AD, that beggars used to sit on the steps of the Stoa (D.L.7.1.22; Alkiphr.*Epist.*3.53 (17).2:gambling tables) and that people would crowd on the steps to hear the philosophers and poets who frequented the Poikile (Alkiphr.*Epist.*1.3.2; 3.28; Lucian, *Dial.Meretr.* 10.1; Lucian, *Zeus Trag.*). It was also known as a place for poets (D.L.7.1.5; the general hubbub and talk: Athenaios.3.104b).

From the date of the pottery found within the foundation it seems that it was built around 470-60 (black-glaze lamps, stemless cups, lekythoi, plates, Shear Jr., (1971):13, n.16). A block on the west face of the euthynteria had received a graffito before it had been laid into position, indicated by the inscription which is not the correct way up (Agora I 7554; Shear Jr., (1984):14-15, fig.9). Further columns, belonging to another building, possibly a stoa, have been discovered c.3m away (French, *supra* (1993):39). Fragments of brown Aeginetan poros and limestone were found by the building, which have drilled holes, some containing iron pins, which may have supported pictures, although it is not known in what period the holes were drilled or that the blocks belonged to this building. Small traces of paint have been seen on these blocks (Wycherley, *supra* (1953): 25).

Pausanias is clearly beginning a new section with his description of the Hermes Agoraios, the Gate and the Poikile Stoa, as indicated by the word ἵοῦσι: "going to the Poikile", which is characteristically used by him when denoting a new direction (see *Conclusion*; Wycherley, *supra* (1953):20, "Pausanias made a fresh approach with the Poikile though from what direction is not clear"). After describing the Poikile Pausanias mentions the altars that are in the 'Agora', which in fact seems to have been the Roman Agora (see *Index s.v. Altar of Pity*). If this is the case then Pausanias proceeds to move eastwards from the Greek Agora, leaving via the south east gate, and going along the street between the Agoras which was lined with colonnades (a "long corridor of monumental architecture", Shear Jr., (1981):371; Hoff, *supra* (1990):112,n.90, notes that in antiquity it was an "important street"). On the south side of this street, along its whole length was an Ionic colonnade. It has been suggested that the colonnade housed shops, but it must be noted that this is not conclusive and its exact purpose remains open (Shear Jr., (1981):371). There seems to have been a large room made behind the colonnade which was given a temple facade and was paved with marble inside, possibly to house a shrine of the Imperial Cult (Shear Jr., (1973):377, fig.6; dedication of Trajan: Shear Jr., (1973):175, pl.39:h). The gateway which allowed pedestrians access was a marble archway (see *Index s.v. Gate near the Poikile*). 75m of the floor was marble and had been

dedicated from the *Demos'* own funds which implies the importance of this area to the Athenians at that time (inscription of Pantainos, Shear, Jr., (1973):389,no.3).

The area between the Greek Agora and what was to be the Roman Agora had been a road since the fifth century until the sack of Sulla, then shops and houses were built which remained until the first century. It was then left until Pantainos dedicated the complex south of the Attalos Stoa and east of the south part of the Panathenaic way to Athena Polias and Trajan Germanicus (*Plate 13, top*). Since Trajan is not yet called Dacicus in the inscription it must have been some time between 98-102AD (Shear, Jr., (1973):389).

Further to this the Poikile Stoa is mentioned many times in literature from the 1st century (Corn. Nep. *Miltiades* 6, painting of Marathon, and the author was not speaking from autopsy). There seem to be only three references in literature to the Poikile Stoa before this date and they refer to the painting of Marathon ([D.]59 (Neaira) 94 dating to c.340, Aischin.3 (Ktesiphon)186, c.330) or to the fact that Law arbitration took place there (D.45 (*Stephanos* I) 17, dating to c.351). The description of Aischines requests the imagination to proceed in thought to the Poikile and see the memorial of all the great deeds set up in the Agora (Aischin.3.186). It would be natural for someone entering the Agora to have entered on the north side having come through the main gate at the Dipylon. Aischines wants his reader to take in all the monuments in the Agora. One therefore imagines a walk across the Agora where "all [the] great deeds" were commemorated, along the Panathenaic way, to the south east side of the Agora, where the Poikile may have been located. One is also prompted to remember Xenophon's recommendations for the cavalry's dash across the Agora (see *Index s.v. Gymnasium of Hermes*). There are two inscriptions dating to the middle of the 4th century which record the name Poikile and also refer to its use in cases of law (*IG* II² 1641, lines 4-6: τὸ δικαστήρ/-ιον ἢ στοὰ ἢ ποικί/-λη; lines 25, 30; *IG* II² 1670, 34-37). It is however difficult to say whether the Poikile was set up for the purpose of law, or else was used when no other suitable building was available. An event of the end of the 5th century is recorded in the 2nd century AD as taking place in the Poikile Stoa. It is stated that 1,400 citizens were killed there during the rule of the thirty tyrants (D.L.7.5). Diogenes is following a tradition that at one time the Stoa was used as a place for legal arbitration.

There is no mention of the Poikile Stoa in the 3rd century, most references come from the 2nd century AD, which may reflect a new lease of life for the area where it was built. The area behind the Poikile was described, in second century AD literature, as being residential (Ael.VH.13.12 and Plut. *Nikias*, 13, who both state that Meton the mathematician pretended he was mad in order to excuse himself from the Sicilian

Expedition and burnt his house down). It is also known that Demophantes, the lover of Ampelis, lived *behind* the Stoa Poikile (Lucian, *Navigium*, 13; Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 8.2). Both areas, north and south of the Agora, seem to have been residential, (Graham, *supra* (1974); Lauter-Bufel, *supra* (1971); H.A. Thompson, *supra* (1959):98ff). To the south the situation close to the Agora and Akropolis and the household furniture found which included ivory (BI 771, BI 769, BI 770), a fine terracotta lamp (L5298), and fragments of excellent quality pottery, of the 5th and 4th century (pl.22a), indicate that their inhabitants were quite wealthy. There is a slope in the terrain on the north side of Hadrian Street, but it is of a lower degree than the south side of the Agora where the slope of the Akropolis creates a very clear rise in the ground level, at the immediate edge of the south side of the Agora (Ammerman, *supra* (1996):710, fig.6, which shows a map of the natural relief of the area). Such a rise, along with the simple yet expensive items found, and the description that houses were 'above' the Poikile, may imply that the houses referred to are these on the south side of the Agora, and that the Poikile may in fact have been located on this side as well.

A bust of Zeno was found built into a Byzantine wall, on the south west side of the Agora (*Hesp.* 17 (1948):42, no.31). Philosophers were known to have frequented the Poikile which this image may reflect. Hipparchia, a Cynic, was among the women philosophers, and it was with her that Krates consummated the "Kynogamia", (the Cynic's Wedding) in the Poikile Stoa, according to the 2nd-century AD author Clement of Alexandria (Clem.Alex. *Stromateis* 4,19.21). This was because Krates was so poor that the only place he could take his bride was the Stoa, where Zeno cloaked them for privacy (Apul.*Florida* 14, again 2nd-century AD author). Since images of the philosophers Thales and Epimenides were seen by Pausanias over by the Eleusinion, it may be an indication of the sanctuary's proximity to the Poikile Stoa (see *Index s.v.v. Thales, Epimenides*). The Eleusinion was to the south(-east?) side of the Agora, and so the Poikile may also have been near this side, possibly more to the east. The Library of Pantainos was also located on the south east side of the Agora. It is recorded that Pantainos dedicated the "outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books and all the embellishment inside" (Meritt, *supra* (1946):233, no.64; Parsons, *supra* (1949):268-72; Shear Jr., *supra* (1975):332-45; Oliver, *supra* (1979):157-60). There were three outer Ionic colonnades with the main front turned towards the Panathenaic way. The library itself was of course used by many philosophers while the Poikile Stoa was home to Zeno (Synesios of Cyrene, *Epist.* 135, see below). It serves to illustrate the 'intellectual' nature of the area on the south east side of the Agora.

A stoa set up by Peisianax was known as the Peisianakteion after him, but there is no first hand use of the name, and the texts where the name is present seem to have been mutilated. There was also a late tradition that it was the same as the Poikile Stoa (Plut.*Kim.*4.5-6; D.L.7.1.5; Isidore, *Origines* 8,6,8). Corruptions of Peisianax's name are found in Harpokration (s.v. βασίλειος, which labels it Ἀνάκτιος) and the Suda (s.v. Βασίλειος, s.v. Πεισιανάκτειος, and s.v. στοά, where the name is corrupted to Παανάκτιος; cf. Isidore, *Origines*, 8.6.8, Peisianactia, with no reference to the Poikile). Note that an Attic bell-krater by Polygnotos has been found on which is depicted an Amazon who is given the name ΠΕΣΙΑΝΑΣΑ (Ferrara T 411, c.450/40; references in Wycherley, *supra*(1953):23, n.9). This may have been where the connection originated since Amazons were painted in the Poikile Stoa (see below).

15.1-3 The Paintings in the Poikile Stoa:

Pausanias describes the building as containing paintings, indeed the name Poikile had obviously been given at some time because of the coloured paintings it contained (ποικίλος, -η, -ον, meaning 'many coloured', for instance in Homer it is used as the epithet of cloth, e.g. *Il.*5.735). It seems that the pictures were on wooden boards rather than painted direct on plaster (Synesios of Cyrene, a Neoplatonist of AD370-413, *Epist.* 54, *Epist.*135: "the Poikile in which Zeno philosophised is no longer coloured since the proconsul took away the boards"; cf. Sopatros, *Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων*, 340ff). The important word is *sanides*, "boards," which at least implies that in Synesios' time, the pictures in the Poikile were painted on detachable boards.

The pictures were considered to have been painted by Polygnotos (Harp. s.v. *Polygnotos*). Harpokration, who mentions this, may have got his information from Plutarch, who also says that Polygnotos did not charge when he composed the paintings inside the Stoa Poikile (quoting lines from the poet Melanthios, which state that Polygnotos painted the Temple of the Gods at his own cost). Harpokration also adds that Polygnotos acquired citizenship after he painted it for nothing. In contrast to Polygnotos, Mikon who was also thought to have worked on the painting, had charged (Plin.*NH.*35.58-9; Arrian, *Anab.*7.13.5; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* 7.38; Harpokrat. s.v. Μίκων (Mss. read Μεκων)). Panainos may also have worked on the painting (Plin.*NH.*35.57,59; Paus.5.11.6; Synesios, *Epist.*54; Rumpf, *supra*(1953):91-103; Robertson (1975):241-45; 322-24). Panainos was the brother of Pheidias, active c.448 (Plin.*NH.*35.54-8), and so was probably overshadowed by his more famous brother. Pausanias does not mention any of the painters' names (Wycherley, (1957): 31-45, who describes other paintings in the Stoa, which were not mentioned by Pausanias, e.g. Sophokles playing the lyre, Howe,

supra (1957): 341-50, and the Herakleidai, although Pausanias does mention Herakles, see below, just after the representation of Theseus; his descendants could well have stood nearby in connection with their ancestral hero). These painters who are thought to have worked on the Poikile, received important commissions in the 470's. Polygnotos painted the *Lesche* in Delphi (Paus.10.25.1; Kebric, *supra* (1983):*passim*) and Panainos painted at Olympia (B.F.McConnell, *supra* (1984):159-64). That a number of painters were considered to have worked on the paintings in the Stoa supports Pausanias' description of the paintings, which seems to have been painted in clearly defined groups. Therefore, it seems more than likely, that what Pausanias was describing were individual paintings on separate boards hung on the wall, in contrast with the obvious mural implied in his description of the *Lesche* at Delphi. This would not detract from the importance of their positioning, since it is still significant that the legendary battle between the Greeks and the Amazons was erected next to the real life battle against the Spartans at Oinoe (see below).

Pausanias begins his description of the paintings by stating that "the stoa first has the Athenians drawn up against the Lakedaimonians at Oinoe, in Argive land". The painter, Pausanias mentions, chose to portray the beginning of the battle, when the soldiers are about to come to hand to hand combat, rather than the battle at its height, nor did the painter show any feats of bravery. Pausanias then goes on to describe the painting he saw in "in the middle of the walls", which seems to mean the middle wall, rather than the middle of *the* wall, since the word is clearly plural in Pausanias' text (ἐν δὲ τῷ μέσῳ τῶν τοίχων). The Athenians and Theseus are painted fighting with the Amazons. It seems that the Amazons were portrayed as being rather more brave than the Greeks, for according to Pausanias' description it seemed that "only from the women did misfortune not take away recklessness in the face of danger, for Themiskyra was taken by Herakles, and later their army was destroyed, which they sent to Athens, nevertheless they came to Troy to fight the Athenians and all the Greeks". Clearly Pausanias' respect for these female warriors reflects their bravery depicted in this painting.

This painting seems to have been linked to the next painting Pausanias describes, since the Amazons had come to Troy to fight the Athenians and all the Greeks (...ἐς Τροίαν ἦλθον Ἀθηναίοις τε αὐτοῖς μαχοῦμεναι καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἑλληνησιν) and in the next painting is shown the aftermath of the Trojan war. They seem to have been on the same wall, since Pausanias has given us no further indication, other than "after the Amazons" (ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς Ἀμαζόσιν). The painting (ἡ γραφή), Pausanias continues, has Ajax himself and other women prisoners including Cassandra. Finally, at the end of the painting, is the battle of Marathon where the Boiotians of Plataia and all those who come

from Attika are fighting hand to hand combat with the barbarians. At this point both sides are equal. In the middle of the battle Pausanias describes the barbarians fleeing and pushing each other into the marshy area, while at the end of the painting are Phoenician ships and the Greeks killing the barbarians who rush into them. Why was the Marathon battle placed in such close proximity to the Trojan scene? The Marathon painting may have been on the end wall, since not only does Pausanias mention no other painting in this stoa, but also his description of them being *τελευταίον τῆς γραφῆς*, seems to imply that he has reached the end of the painting, where "γραφή" in the singular refers to the whole series of pictures (*pace* Musti and Beschi, (1987):315, who think that Marathon was at the end of the long wall, conveniently leaving room for the painting mentioned by other authors, this fails to explain why Pausanias would omit them). Three separate painters were supposed to have been at work on the paintings in the Poikile, which suggests that each artist worked on a different theme, possibly implying that each subject was painted separately and so positioned on the wall individually. There are no other references before Synesios to the paintings in the Poikile Stoa being on boards, but Synesios' account cannot be denied, which means that at some time the paintings must have been exhibited in the Poikile on boards.

The date of the battle of Oinoe (between Mantinea and Argos) is not known, in fact Pausanias is our only source for it. He refers to it here and in 10.10.4, where he describes the Argive monument of the *Seven Against Thebes* in Delphi, made by Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton "from the victory" (*ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης*) at Oinoe by the Argives and their Athenian allies over the Spartans. If this means "from the spoils" of that victory, it would date the battle to the earlier 4th century, because Hypatodoros and Aristogeiton were two Theban sculptors active around 372-52 (Plin.34.50; Overbeck, (1959):nos.1568-73). A battle between the Spartans and the allied Athenians and the Argives is conceivable not only during their earlier alliance of 462-52 but equally well around 378-71 (the "Second Athenian Alliance" of 378 was directed against Sparta, and Argos was traditionally hostile to Sparta). At Delphi, the Argives commemorated their victory by referring to their mythical ancestors who were led by Adrastus; at Athens, only the Athenians' success seems to have been commemorated (unless Pausanias forgot to mention the Argives, or was unable to distinguish them from the Athenians, considering the fact that the painting was more than 500 years old when Pausanias saw it). If, therefore, this painting in the Poikile Stoa must be dated to about 390-70 (and not to c.460, as has been almost universally assumed, see Meyer, *RE* XVII 2237ff) this may explain Pausanias' description of the Oinoe battle being "first" in the Stoa, which implies that it was indeed painted and 'hung' separately, probably on a wall on its own, thus not

interfering with the composition and arrangement of the earlier paintings, since it post-dated them and the original scheme (the Poikile had been built c.470/460; Develin, *supra* (1993):238-40).

There are so many representations of Amazons in ancient art that it is revealing about the Greek, and particularly the Athenian attitudes, to this legendary group of women who fought so courageously. Indeed Pausanias' remark that it was only the Amazons who had not lost their courage even though they were faced with such danger, seems to indicate not a little irony poked at the Athenians by the painter. Pausanias describes Theseus and the Athenians fighting the Amazons. It is still open to dispute whether the battle itself took place on Attic or native soil (*LIMC* VII, 943, J.Neils). In the 5th century, Theseus is often shown in battles against the Amazons (*LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no.603; *LIMC* VII, 943, J.Neils). Theseus is variously pitched against Antiope, Hippolyta, Andromache, Melousa and other unidentified Amazons (*LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones, esp. nos.232-243; *LIMC* I, s.v. Antiope nos.1-14). For instance the scene appears on the metopes of the Parthenon, the exterior of the Parthenos' shield and non-Attic temple friezes (*LIMC* VII, 943, J.Neils). On a later aryballos by Aison from Cumae six Greeks are depicted as fighting seven Amazons (*LIMC* I, s.v. Amazones no.243, pl.471). Earlier ones are known which reflect trends more likely to have influenced the painter but this is an excellently executed scene, and may itself have been influenced by the tradition of the painting within the Poikile, and so is important. Individuals fight on two distinct levels, indicated here and there with 'terrain' lines (*LIMC* VII, 943, J.Neils). The two levels are brought together by the striding steps of the fighters, one leg rests on a 'middle' area while the other reaches forward and stands on higher ground. It is very convincing, the surface of the vase almost comes alive with the energy displayed by the twisting poses and swirling drapery. Both ends of the vase are balanced, two males at one end and two females at the other. In the centre is an Amazon whose body faces left, but her head and attention turns behind her to the right, thus drawing both sides of the vase together. The lower extreme male figure marks a striking contrast to all the others on the vase, since his body is still. He rests on the floor, apparently wounded, his shield brought in close. Theseus is there, his name inscribed. The density of the Amazons painted around him draws attention to him. He seems to be penned in, but he is actually only engaged in fighting one Amazon. The one he faces has her right hand raised in the air as if about to strike him. The twisting torsos excite the area around him. On the other side of the same aryballos, one of the Amazons stands perplexed, possibly she has been hit. The scene may have been a copy of a wall-painting, although whether it may have copied the one in the Poikile in Athens is difficult to know. But the concentration of figures around

Theseus and the central Amazon figure may suggest that the inspiration for this vase may have come from something similar to that painted in the Poikile.

Amazons are often shown carrying axes. Most of them wear animal skins, either as trousers or a short skirt, although most arms and legs are covered. In contrast, Hippolyta wears a cuirass and helmet, a short skirt, bares her legs and arms, and she is often on horseback (*LIMC* I, s.v. *Amazones* no.77, no.126, fig.126; Ath.NM.1182). The battle against the Amazons was a popular subject in art from the 7th century, and also in literature (Pindar, fr.175, Snell and Maehler; see *LIMC* II, 586f, P.Devambez; von Bothmer, *supra* (1957):163-74; Jeffery, *supra*(1965):41-42. Arias, *supra* (1953):15-28). From the 5th century onwards the Amazons begin to bare one breast, wear Scythian trousers and are lightly armed (*LIMC* I, s.v.*Amazones* nos.586-653; Walter, *supra* (1958):35-47). The painting of the Amazons in the Stoa Poikile seems to have been by Mikon (Ar.*Lys.*688-9; Overbeck, (1959):187-205, nos.1042-79). He is described as having painted the Amazons mounted on horseback and fighting against men (Schol.ad Ar.*Lys.*688-9; Arrian *Anab.*7.13.5, in whose manuscripts the painter is Cimon; Wycherley, *supra* (1953):27, n.23).

The next part of the painting was probably by Polygnotos (as Plut.*Kim.*4). Pausanias saw Ajax, Cassandra, and other captive women in the painting. The rape of Cassandra is in keeping with his often brash character (Hom.*Il.*23 473ff; 774). Cassandra was probably represented as clutching the image of Athena, as Ajax goes for her, as is common in other 'rape' scenes. The same stance was seen in Polygnotos' painting in Delphi (Paus.10.26.3, 27.1, 31.2; Brommer, (1956):282ff; Connelly, *supra*(1995):101; Boardman, (1989):Pl.1). Polygnotos was said to have painted the portrait of Elpinike, the sister of Kimon, with whom he lived, for the face of Laodike (Plut. *Kim.*4.5-6). He was also supposed to have been the first to portray women in transparent drapery and multi-coloured head-dresses (Plin.*NH.*35.58-9) and so the women he painted in this picture were probably shown in such diaphanous material and may have worn coloured headgear, where appropriate. In the interior of a red-figure cup by Onesimos, Cassandra is shown naked and clasps the 'clothed' image of Athena while Ajax grips her hair as she crouches on the floor (Robertson, (1992):47, fig.33; cf. cup, Malibu J.Paul Getty Museum 86.AE.161). Also on this cup are other Trojan women, being slain. But the implication in what Pausanias describes is not that Ajax was in the process of committing such a vile act, but that he was standing trial for it beside the kings. There do not seem to be any representations of the trial of Ajax, although occasionally an individual may stand near by, as if to cast approbation, but nothing resembles a court of any kind (see *LIMC* I, s.v.

Aias II, nos.91-92, esp.83, pl.266, from a fresco in Pompeii, *in situ*, from the House of Menander).

The final image of the γροφὴ is the Marathon battle. The actual thick of the battle between those from Attika and the barbarians was shown, pushing each other towards the marsh. Although no side is winning according to Pausanias, the painter clearly wanted to indicate that it was the barbarians who were the cowards here, by showing them fleeing in the middle of the battle, and even painting in the Phoenician ships which were moored nearby to pick them up. Moreover the Greeks are shown coming down on the barbarians as they try to climb aboard their ships (Robert, *supra* (1895):29-35, for a reconstruction; Harrison, *supra* (1972):333-378). Mikon was the likely painter, the attribution to Polygnotos is very weak, only the anonymous οἱ δὲ φασίιν in Aelian (*de Nat.animal.* 7.38, Aelian himself knew it was Mikon's work; cf. Plin.*NH* 35.57). Sopatros also attributes the painting to Mikon (Plin. *NH* 35.57). Pausanias himself thought Panainos, the brother of Pheidias, was the painter (Paus.5.11.6) Panainos was known to have painted portraits of men in battle, and since he was the lesser and more obscure painter, it is possible that he may also have worked on this scene (essential study by Hammond, *supra*(1968):41,45f.; Wycherley, *supra* (1953):20-35). In the painting a dog was also shown, which a certain Athenian had brought along to accompany him in the battle. It was shown near the Athenian generals: Kynaigeiros, Epizelos and Kallimachos, all of whom, including the dog, were painted by Mikon (or Polygnotos, Ael. *de Nat.Animal.*7.38; Harpokrat. s.v. Μίκων). Panainos is said to have painted the barbarians Artaphernes and Datis (Plin.*NH.*35.57, Miltiades appears in the stead of Epizelos; where it is also mentioned that the use of colour had developed to such an extent that Panainos managed to paint actual portraits of the leaders; also Paus.5.11.5-6). Since a number of painters are mentioned, there may in fact have been collaboration on the painting.

Pausanias also mentions seeing the Hero Marathon in the painting, after whom the plain is named. Marathon migrated to the coast of Attika to escape the lawlessness and hubris of his father (Paus.2.1.1). There is, however, another tradition that the Hero *Marathos* led the Arkadian army of the Dioskouroi with himself at the front of his men for sacrifice, and it was he, and not Marathon, that gave his name to the plain (Dikaiarchos, quoted by Plut. *Thes.* 32).

In the painting, Pausanias saw Theseus coming up from the Underworld, he also saw Athena and Herakles close by. Theseus went with Peirithoos who in response to an oracle of Zeus had gone down for Persephone as a wife for Peirithoos. When they were younger they had abducted the twelve year old Helen, and had drawn lots for her. It had been agreed that whoever lost would have choice of one of Zeus' own daughters. When

Helen came of age, and Theseus had won, they sought the oracle of Zeus for Peirithoos (Apollod.2.5.12). To reach Hades Theseus had gone in the back way, through a cave in Lakonian Tainaros. Hades persuaded them to sit on a sofa, which was the chair of Forgetfulness. This episode was depicted in the Knidian Lesche in Delphi, (Paus.10.29.9): "Theseus and Peirithoos on chairs; Theseus is holding his own and Peirithoos' swords; Polygnotos had represented the pair so successfully that Peirithoos' frustration was indicated as he looked at the swords, useless in their situation". It at once entangled them where they remained for a few years until Herakles released Theseus (Apollod.2.5.12; Diod.Sic.4.26; *lekythos* by the Alkimachos painter, showing Herakles pulling Peirithoos by his hand, Berlin inv.30035, found near Taranto, *ARV* 532.57, Boardman, (1989), pl.47).

The freeing of Peirithoos and or Theseus from Hades appears in art earlier than in literature with the concentration of interest in Theseus occurring after the end of the 6th century (*LIMC* V, 183, J.Boardman; also no.3519; vase paintings *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles nos.3515-3520). On the Calyx Krater of the Niobid painter Athena faces Herakles and other heroes (*Plate 55, bottom right*; *LIMC* IV, s.v. Herakles no. 3520, pl.161). A youth sits on the ground. It has been suggested that this scene represents the release of the heroes from Hades rather than the heroes before Marathon (*LIMC* IV, 183, J.Boardman).

In the painting of the battle at Marathon Pausanias saw the general Kallimachos. In 490 the Athenians had elected Kallimachos as Polemarchos. He fought the Persians but was killed. Before the battle he had won a victory in the games. A Nike on a column was dedicated on the akropolis and possibly commemorates both successes since it may have been completed after his death (Tod, (1946):13; Boardman, (1988):86, Pl.167, Akrop.690, c.490-80). Pausanias also describes Miltiades in the painting (cf. Paus.1.18.3, a statue of him in the Theatre of Dionysos; Schol. Aristeid. vol.3, p.535f, ed. Dindorf). Miltiades was from the family of Philaïdai, he ruled the Thracian Chersonese, which was handed over to Athens. Kimon was his son, by the Thracian King Oloros' daughter, Hegesipyle. As general in 490, he was supported by generals, including Kallimachos, to fight the Persians at Marathon. As a result he won a victory. Ironically Miltiades had been a vassal of Darius (K.Kinzl, *Miltiades-Forschungen* (1968)). A herm inscribed with his name and two distichs was found in Rome (Richter, (1984):168-69, fig.129). One of the lines of poetry is in Latin recording that he defeated the Persians in battle at Marathon, but died as a result of the ingratitude of his people and county. The other one is in Greek, and highlights his deeds in the army, singling out his activity with the Persians and Marathon. Hence the importance of his image in the painting in the Poikile.

15.4 Bronze shields

Bibliography: H.A.Thompson, (1937):346ff; B.Develin, "The Battle of Oinoe meets Ockham's Razor?" *ZPE* 99 (1993):235-40.

Commentary: Pausanias mentions that bronze shields were also dedicated at the Poikile. Some have an inscription that they were taken from Skioneans and their allies. Others are covered with pitch which are said to have been taken from the Lakedaimonians on Sphakteria. The shields taken from the Skioneans and their allies may have been in a convenient position for Pausanias to have read the inscription(s) on them. The ones protected from the elements with pitch may have been hung up outside the stoa.

A shield was found covering a cistern cut into the rock to the south of the Hephaisteion which bore the inscription that the Athenians dedicated it from the war with the Lakedaimonians: Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ Πύλοιο, (T.L.Shear, *Hesp.* 6 (1937):347, figs.10-11). The cistern dates to c.300. It is slightly oval measuring 95x83cm at the widest points. The dedicatory inscription identifies it as one of those captured by the Athenians from the Spartans at the battle of Pylos in 425. It may have been due to its inferior quality that it found itself inside the cistern in the 3rd century. The decoration around the rim is similar to that found at Olympia which has been identified as being the product of a foundry there (A.Furtwängler, *Olympia. Die Ergebnisse IV*, Text: 162, pl.62).

16.1 Bronze statues in front of the Stoa: Solon and Seleukos

Bibliography: K.Holland, *AJA* (1941):346; E.B.Harrison, *CQ* (1961):5f; D.Musti, "Lo statto dei Seleucidi" in *SCO* 15 (1966):61ff; D.Whitehead, (1986):13; F.Blaise, "Pratique et fondation des normes politiques", *REG* 108 (1995):121ff.

Commentary: Pausanias saw a portrait of Solon in front of the Stoa Poikile, and one of Seleukos a little way off. Apart from seven headless Herms which bear his name, there are only two portraits of Solon extant, both late in date. One of these is in the 3rd-century AD mosaic of the Seven Wise Men at Baalbek, and the other is in the painting from Ostia, in the "Palazzo dei Cesari" (Richter, (1984):197, fig.158, p.204-05, fig.166). In both instances he is bearded. In the Baalbek mosaic he is shown with white hair which lies on his forehead in four distinct sections, apparently parted in the centre. His beard is long, and his clothing is draped around both shoulders. But since the mosaic is very late the portrait of him must be stylised (see *Index s.v. Thales*). Aelian records the fact that a bronze image of him stood in the Agora (Aelian.8.16: καὶ ἀνέστησαν αὐτῷ χαλκὴν εἰκόνα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ; also see D.26.24...Σόλωνα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ στήσαι).

The other portrait Pausanias saw a little way off from Solon was of Seleukos (being Seleukos I Nikator of Syria, 312-208). He was renowned for his generosity which

was probably the reason he had his portrait set up in Athens (Musti, *supra* (1966):61ff, 81-99, 130-35). The fine bronze head and shoulders of a man has been identified as being that of Seleukos (*Plate 56, top*; Richter, (1984):238, fig.223). The identification is taken from its likeness to images on coins. His eyes are close set accentuated by the fact that the inlay for his eyes, which is ancient, is positioned in such a way as to make him focus on a point close to his face, slightly above him. Bryaxis is known to have made a Seleukos and an Asklepios (Plin. *NH.* 34.73). He was also supposed to have worked on the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos (Plin. *NH.* 36.30) and at Knidos (Plin.*NH.*36.22; cf.34.42). Pausanias mentions an Asklepios and an Hygieia made by Bryaxis in Megara (Paus.1.40.6). This Asklepios may have been the statue referred to by Pliny while Bryaxis' Seleukos mentioned by Pliny may have been the image Pausanias saw in the Agora.

17.1 The Altar of Pity (Eleos)

Bibliography: Dyer, (1873):242-43; H.S.Robinson, "Tower of the Winds and the Roman Agora," *AJA* 47 (1943):297; M.Crosby, "Altar of the Twelve Gods," *Hesp.* Suppl.8 (1949):82-103; H.A.Thompson, "The Altar of Pity in the Athenian Agora", *Hesp.* 21 (1952): 47-82; G.Zuntz, "The Altar of Mercy," *Cl.Med.*14 (1953):71ff; R.E.Wycherley, "The Altar of Eleos," *CQ* 4 (1954):143-50; R.E.Wycherley, "Pausanias in the Agora of Athens: altar of Eleos," *GRBS* 2 (1959):40ff; Eliot, (1967):121-123; Travlos, (1971):458; E.Vanderpool, "The 'Agora' of Pausanias" *Hesp.* 43 (1974):308-310; M.Hoff, "The Early History of the Roman Agora at Athens," in Walker and Cameron, (1989):1ff; E.C.Gastaldi, *Le lettere di Temistokle II*, Padua (1990):106-117; Palagia, (1990); S.Angiolillo, "Hestia, l'edificio F e l'altare dei 12 dei a Atene," *Ostraka* 1 (1992):171; L.M.Godberg, "The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the Athenian Agora: A Revised View", *Hesp.* 61 (1992): 447-89; Dräger, (1994):40.

Commentary: Pausanias describes the Altar of Pity as being in the Agora. It has not yet been identified, and has been sought within the Greek Agora. It was once thought to have stood in front of the Stoa of Attalos (Wachsmuth (1874):112-121) or in the Roman Agora (Thomas Dyer, (1873):242). It is important to note that the date of all the literary references to the *Altar of Pity* are late Hellenistic or Roman, whether it is referred to in Greek, *Eleos*, or in the Latin translation, *Clementia* (the sons of Herakles were reported to have sought refuge at this shrine: cf: Apollod.II.8.1; Schol. *Ar.Eq.*1151; Xenobios.II.61; Philostrat.*Vit.soph.* II.1,5; *Epist.* 39 (70); Apollod.III,7.1; Stat. *Theb.* 12.493ff). The Athenians were supposed to have been the first to dedicate an Altar to Pity (D.S.13,22).

The location of the altar lies in the words of Pausanias. He describes the Altar of Pity as being in the "Agora". To him and his Roman audience, Agora would have meant "Market place" which in his time was the area now referred to specifically as the "Roman Agora" (*Plate 57, middle*). The area would have been known as the 'Agora' since that was its function now that the market was held there. It may have been built over an older commercial market (Hoff, *supra* (1989):1ff). That the Roman Agora was a well-frequented place is reflected in the placing of the clock there (the *horologion*, Robinson, *supra* (1943):297; Vanderpool, *supra* (1974):308-310).

Pausanias mentions that the altar of Pity is a monument which did not feature among those which were ἐπίσημα. In this context the word has been taken to mean "remarkable", "famous", or that it "bears a distinguishing mark or feature," rather than merely "generally known" (in contrast to Jones, (1992):81), or "*omnibus nota*" (as Dindorf, (1882)). Eliot has analysed the other instances where Pausanias uses the word and concludes that in four of the five instances the word implies a distinguishing sign, for instance on coins, twice referring to stamped gold, and a tomb marker (1.34.4, 2.30.6, 5.5.5-6, 10.19.8). The other instance refers to a distinguished deed (3.8.7) and does not come into the discussion since it is not an object (Eliot, *supra* (1967):121-123). Eliot sees it as Pausanias' way of informing tourists in Athens of the names of altars they may have been able to see in the Agora but not identify, possibly because the inscription was not dedicatory or because there was no sculpture which helped in identifying the altar (Eliot, *supra* (1967):123; Statius. *Theb.*12.493-494). It is known from another source that it had no images, hence Pausanias' description (Stat.*Theb.*12:493). To a suppliant, the shape, the position in the middle of the Agora and the fact that it was constantly sought may have been enough to render it well known to those who would want to seek shelter there (Stat. *Theb.*12, ll 481-509 (c.AD 90)). An altar from the Roman Agora has heads of bulls in between garlands of cornucopiae, carved in relief (*Plate 57, bottom*).

One of the main contenders for the altar has been the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Greek Agora which has been identified with certainty from the so-called 'Leagros' inscription found *in situ*, on the north side of the Agora (*Plate 57 bottom*; IG I³ 951=Agora I 1597: [Λ]έαγρος ἀνέθεκεν Γλαύκονος δώδεκα θεοῖσιν; Crosby, *supra* (1949):94-103; Gastaldi, *supra* (1990):106-117, 259-60; Shapiro, (1995):133; Kyle, (1987):222-23; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):129-132; Travlos, (1971):458; Dräger (1994):40). This is based on Statius' description (for which see below) and the fact that because the Altar of the Twelve Gods was such a landmark in antiquity, it has perplexed scholars who tried to reason why Pausanias left it out. Indeed the Altar of the Twelve Gods was used as a focal point and as a central milestone (Hdt.2.7.1; IG II² 2640, line3:

...τὸ μεταξύ θεῶν πρὸς δώδεκα βωμόν... found near the gate of the Akropolis; it dates to later than 4th century). The Altar of the Twelve Gods was referred to in its own terms in antiquity (Th.6.54.6-7; Lactantius, *Declam.*22, ed. Foerster, vol.VI, p.339).

The sanctuary of the Twelve Gods is square in plan, with an altar in the centre (Godberg, *supra* (1992): 447-89). It is also believed to have been surrounded by a grove of trees, which is in keeping with the description that the Altar of Pity was also surrounded by trees (Stat.*Theb.*12 lines481-509:*Mite nemus circa, cultu insigne verendo, ...vitate laurus et supplicis arbor olivae*). A number of holes dug to the same depth of 1m were found to the west of the *peribolos* of the Altar. It has been suggested that these were for the trees which Statius described (Crosby, *supra* (1949):pl.12.1). This theory has been rejected since the holes had not been cut to receive tree-roots, but had been part of an irrigation system (as Godberg, *supra*(1992):452,fig.3, pl.106a; Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):129ff).

It seems most unlikely that the Altar of the Twelve Gods near the north west end of the old Agora (*Kerameikos*) is the Altar of Eleos mentioned by Pausanias, since he after describing the altars he moves on to the gymnasium of Ptolemy near the north slope of the Akropolis (see *Conclusion*). Thus his itinerary clearly indicates that the altars must have stood in the Roman Agora, to the east of the Library of Pantainos.

A 2nd-century AD inscription was found in the Odeion of Herodes Atticus on the south west edge of the Akropolis slope, which records supplication at the Altar of Pity (IG II² 4786: Ὑψιμέδων ὑπατε, πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθυκά[ρπου],/ σον ἐλ[έ]ου βωμον ἱκετεύομεν ἡμεῖς,...; Kaibel, (1878):792; cf. a private dedication from Epidauros IG IV² 282, D.S.13,22,7). The stele is broken away above the inscription, but there is a fragment of a relief in which feet can be seen and the bottom of a long tunic.

In conclusion it is known that the Altar of Pity was surrounded by trees, that it stood in the middle of the Agora, that it had no images and was always being sought by suppliants. Unfortunately it is still unknown precisely where the altar stood, although the Roman Agora is a likely candidate.

17.1 The Altars of Shame (Aidos), Rumour (Pheme), and Effort (Horme)

Commentary: These altars have also not been identified, although a seat was set aside for the priestess of *Aidos* in the Theatre of Dionysos (IG II² 5147: ἱε[ρ]ε[ί]αι Αἰδοῦς). The altar is also mentioned by Hesychios (Hesych. s.v. Αἰδοῦς βωμός). These seems to have been an altar to Aidos on the Akropolis, near the temple of Athena Polias (Eustath. and Hesych., as Musti and Beschi, (1987):320). But this is unlikely to be the one referred to by Pausanias, since the implication from his description is that it stood in the Agora.

Pausanias thought that only the Athenians of all the Greeks had an altar to *Aidos*. Public sacrifice was made to *Pheme* (Aeschin.2.145; 5,128). It was believed that the altar was erected after the Athenians heard the news that they had been victorious at the battle of Eurymedon (schol. Aeschin.1.128, p.277, ed. Schultz). No further information is known about these altars and so the problem regarding their exact location remains open.

Conclusion

It has been said that the Agora, because of its complexity, does not present any "obvious itinerary" (Thompson and Wycherley, (1972):205). Whether one envisages Pausanias actually walking around the site of Athens with a notebook in hand recording monuments and buildings as he passes them, or whether one sees Pausanias writing up an *imaginary* route when away from the site, it is clear from this investigation that Pausanias adds signposts throughout his description to enable his 'readers' to follow him. With literary and archaeological evidence for the site of Athens it is enough to see that Pausanias had an obvious itinerary. Again it is by taking archaeology back to Pausanias that things become clear. The results of this thesis regarding Pausanias' style, method and interest have been presented in the Introduction for the convenience of the reader. What follows is a conclusion to the commentary: a guide around the Agora site in the face of the evidence deduced from this study, as well as further comments on his terminology.

Pausanias entered the city on the north-west side, where he mentions the Gates (Paus.1.2.3). The Pompeion is the first building he describes. Its function and design seem to be indicated in the word he uses for it, namely "οἰκοδόμημα" (*see p.37*). It was a Roman store house, built on a design similar to the Hellenistic Arsenal on the Kolonos Agoraios (*see pp.38-39*). The name 'Pompeion' is only used in the Classical period, in fact Pausanias is our only source for there being a building in Athens used for the preparation of the processions (*see p.43*). It prompts the question why Pausanias would mention such a building of simple and common design? Some kind of activity may have drawn his attention to it, possibly because the Athenians had recently been in throes of preparing a procession or else were about to celebrate another (*see p.43*).

The location of the Demeter Temple is unknown, but Building Y by the Sacred Gate is unlikely to have been part of a sacred complex. Rather the find spot of the heavy 4th-century dedication to Demeter and Kore by Kleiokrateia found along the dromos from the Dipylon Gate to the Agora may provide a better idea of the sanctuary's location since, owing to its size and weight, it probably had not been moved very far from its original position (*see p.47*). However, the fact that it had been found built into the wall of a 1st century Stoa implies that the sanctuary may have suffered at the hands of Sulla or else had undergone some kind of renovation. The other problem which arises from Pausanias' description of this sanctuary comes from the fact that he remarks that an

inscription on the wall in Attic lettering records that the images are by Praxiteles. The date of the lettering is too old for the famous Praxiteles, which means either that this is a reference to an earlier Praxiteles, possibly his grandfather, or as is more probable, the dedication was written in an archaising script in order to artificially age the inscription when the images were rededicated. This would also support the apparent alterations made to the sanctuary in the 1st century when the Kleiokrateia base was reused. Ageing inscriptions was a common practice in the Roman period, and the fact that it is written on the wall invites suspicion.

The location and date of the Poseidon on horseback throwing his spear at the giant Polybotes seen by Pausanias is not known. It did not stand on the 2nd century AD base north of the Dipylon (*see p.52*). The Poseidon versus the giant motif was popular from the 6th century through to the Roman period, as is also attested by desire to re-use the image later on, since Pausanias notes that the inscription assigns the image to some one else, not Poseidon.

To Pausanias and Roman authors the Agora is the Kerameikos, whereas in the Classical period the name referred to the burial ground outside the city walls and the dromos leading to the Agora, as indicated by the *horoi* found (*see pp.54-55*). What he calls the Agora is the Roman Agora. Pausanias notes that the name derived from the hero Keramos, which is likely to have been a later explanation. The name probably arose from the fact that such a large number of potters worked in this area. Keramos is in effect the personification of the material they used, clay (*see p.56*). The relationship between Keramos and Dionysos as mentioned by Pausanias indicates a connection between the god of wine and the vessel which held it (*Kerameon*). Ariadne is considered his mother since one of her nephews, Orestheus, planted the stick which became the vine, and another was the first to mix wine with water, at least according to one version (*see p.56*).

Pausanias describes stoas standing on the road between the Agora and the Dipylon. The colonnaded street was a feature of Roman civic architecture (*see p.57*), and stoas have been found along the *dromos*. The Leokoreion may have been (in?) one of these stoas mentioned by Pausanias. He does not mention the shrine and only digresses on the legend when he sees the statue of Leos among the Eponymous Heroes. Before his murder, Hipparchos was inside the city walls by the Leokoreion, putting the procession in order, which may imply that it was closer to the Pompeion than has been thought. Also Harmodios and Aristogeiton rushed to him from outside the walls, which probably implies that they did not run far with the crowds gathered for the procession. Leokoreion may originally have been a muster point (λεώς and κοσμεῖν; *see p.60*). Further to this a place for loiterers was said to be "τὸ τοῦ Λεώ" together with any stoa (to be taken as

either the "place of Leos" or the "place of the people/crowd"). The area around the Leokoreion seems to have been known for disrepute, as is also suggested by Demosthenes' speech against Konon (*see p.62*). The *dromos* was part of the Kerameikos area in the Classical period known for its seedy goings on (*see p.61*). Ariston was attacked and thrown into the mire by the Leokoreion, which suggests that it stood close to a wet muddy area. The Eridanos and possibly the sewer ran close to the *dromos*, and therefore the stoas mentioned by Pausanias. The girls sacrificed by Leos were not divine and as such may have had their statues set up in front of, or even in, one of the stoas Pausanias mentions along the road, possibly numbering among those statues of "men and women" he saw along there (*see p.61*). It seems likely, given all this information, that the Leokoreion was (part of?) one of the stoas along the *dromos*.

The Gymnasium of Hermes may have been part of the Hipparcheion. Pheidon, the Hipparch, trained the cavalry by the Herms and since a gymnasium was where young men exercised it is possible that the Gymnasium mentioned by Pausanias may have been that schooling area used by Pheidon. Also clay symbola with his name and various items relating to the cavalry, notably armour and lead tokens recording price, size and colour of horses were found in wells (*see pp.64-65*). Since more were found at the one near the Dipylon this may suggest that the Hipparcheion was closer to the gate than to the Agora.

Also seen along the *dromos* was the House of Poulytion. A theatre seat records that it was for the "Priest of Dionysos Melpomenos from the artists". It is known from another source that the Dionysian artists had a house which stood past the gate, leading to the Agora, on the same road on which Pausanias saw Poulytion's House sacred to Dionysos Melpomenos (*see pp.69-70*). Since both authors describe the dwelling as a "house" it is probable that they are referring to the same edifice.

That the statues of Athena Paionia, Zeus, Mnemosyne, Muses and Apollo were all dedicated in one group is still open to doubt. Pausanias' phraseology elsewhere reveals that he describes more than one statue to be part of one work, as he does here (*see p.71*). The large poros blocks bearing the patronymic of the artist Euboulides suggests that the sculptor made a group rather than just the Apollo (*see p.71*). This is especially true when it is considered that all the statues share a musical connection. That they stood close to the "house" sacred to Dionysos Melpomenos is significant. Also the colossal head of Athena and the Nike or Muse torso found close by which may once have belonged to the base, date stylistically to the middle of the 2nd century AD, in keeping with the date of Euboulides.

The face of Akratos Pausanias saw was likely to have been a mask of Akratos himself, Dionysos or even a Satyr. His face appears on a *krater* possibly indicating the

nature if the wine inside, unmixed (*see pp.74-75*). The *agalmata* of clay seen by Pausanias on a building just before the Agora, are likely to have been acroteria. What the function of this building was is unknown.

The Basileios Stoa was the first building Pausanias saw when he entered the Agora. It is the small stoa on the north-west side (*see p.77*). Fragments of the terracotta Acroteria mentioned by Pausanias have been found (*see p.80*). The building served an important function in Athens, not least because it was here that oaths were sworn, possibly on the huge worn stone found in front of the Stoa (*see pp.79-80*). The large female torso found close by could be the image of Demokratia mentioned in inscriptions and *scholia* (*see p.83*). The images of Konon and Timotheos were set up near Evagoras as testimony of their mutual regard and loyalty (*see pp.84-85*). Their statues may have stood in between the images of the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa where a number of statue bases were found.

The statue of Zeus Eleutherios stood in front of his temple, according to Pausanias. The torso of Hadrian found close to the Zeus Eleutherios Stoa is probably the one seen by Pausanias which also stood in front of the Zeus Stoa (*see pp.86,88*). The rear of the Stoa was enlarged in order to accommodate the Imperial cult, which further highlights the significance of the location of the Hadrian statue (*see p.89*). The paintings by Euphranor in the Stoa of Zeus may have been painted on boards which made their realignment easier when part of the rear wall was removed to allow access to the newly created rooms at the back.

Pausanias overlooked the tiny temple of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria and mentions the Apollo Patroos temple and statue, which he considers to be by Euphranor. Thus to Pausanias Euphranor is both a painter and a sculptor (*see p.95*). A large Kitharode type statue has been identified as the statue of Apollo by Euphranor. Leochares' Apollo which Pausanias saw standing in front of the Apollo temple has been considered the original of which the Belvedere Apollo is a copy, although the arguments are not conclusive (*see p.99; cf.p.140*). The Apollo Alexikakos by Kalamis may have commemorated the end of the Plague although a younger Kalamis, possibly the one known to have been a silverchaser, may have been responsible for this Apollo, since the other sculptor was active in the second half of the 5th century, well before the plague of the 420's (*see p.100*). The Omphalos Apollo has been considered having a resemblance to Kalamis' Apollo but it dates stylistically to the 460's which again is too early to commemorate the plague. Unless of course the plague was not the event the Apollo commemorated.

The four room complex next to the Apollo Patroos sanctuary is the Hieron of the Mother of the Gods seen by Pausanias (*see p.102*). The main room seems to have been the northernmost, which had a central courtyard and an altar in the middle of it. Pheidias is now not thought to have been the sculptor of the cult image, rather Agorakritos is preferred since he may have been contemporary with the revival of her cult after the plagues (*see p.105*).

The function of the Bouleuterion in the Classical period overlapped with that of the Metroon, but by Pausanias' time the rectangular building behind the Metroon was then being used by the Five Hundred (*see p.107*). Access was made through an Ionic *propylon* (*see p.106*). Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia were worshipped at Athens, a wooden statue of him was seen by Pausanias, which attests the antiquity of the cult (*see p.108*). The other statue of Zeus by Peisias is like its sculptor, unknown. Lyson, who made the other image of Zeus Pausanias saw there, is of unknown date, but he is known to Pliny (*see p.109*). The earliest representation of Demos of the Athenians is the painting by Parrhasios, but whether he was inspired by Lyson or whether Lyson was later than Parrhasios is not known.

The round building seen by Pausanias which he calls the Tholos was commonly known as the *skias* some time in the 2nd century AD (*see p.112*). Since Pausanias is aware of the name elsewhere, the fact that he does not mention it here suggests that the name was not in vogue when he visited Athens, or else that the distinctive roof design which the name refers to, was only created after Pausanias left Athens (*see p.112*). The fact that the internal columns were altered some time in the 2nd century AD may suggest that the latter explanation is correct.

Pausanias describes the Eponymous Heroes as being "higher up" which implies their position on the tall pedestal (*see p.116*). The earliest reference to the statues comes from Aristophanes' *Pax* which was produced in 424, about 75 years before it was built opposite the Metroon. Another base found beneath the south aisle of the Middle Stoa may have been the one alluded to by the poet (*see p.118*). Since it is considerably smaller it may only have held the images of the four original Eponymous Heroes (*see p.119*). Images of the Heroes have been identified with the draped male figures seen on the east frieze of the Parthenon (*see pp.119-121*). Their proximity to the gods suggests their importance to the Athenians. Whether statues of Attalos and Ptolemy were set up when they were honoured by having tribes named after them is disputed, but a solitary base on the south side of the 4th-century monument may have held Hadrian's image. A similar pedestal may have been set up at the other end, but the archaeological evidence is unclear.

Pausanias then goes on to describe a number of statues. Statue bases have been found in this area, but none correspond with images he mentions here. The statue of Amphiaraos must have stood near the Eponymous Heroes since he is mentioned first after them (*see pp.127-128*). The next statue Pausanias describes is of Eirene bearing Ploutos. It is thought to be a work of Kephisodotos, the best copy of which may be seen in Munich (*see p.129*). A Statue of Lycurgus stood alongside the image of Kallias. Kalamis was known to have worked for Kallias on the Akropolis, and may have been commissioned for his image here (*see p.131*). The next image Pausanias saw was that of Demosthenes. It is known from another source that his image stood near the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Since this altar is still *in situ* the reconstruction of Pausanias' route is assisted (*see pp.132-3; Pl.2*).

Re-used poros foundations of a Doric Temple built originally in the 430's were probably sacred to Ares and was the temple seen by Pausanias (*see p.134*). The temple had been erected in the Agora some time in the Augustan period as given by the date of the lettering inscribed on the blocks to aid reassembly. This practice of moving temples was popular in the Roman period. Caius Caesar, Augustus' adopted son, was honoured as the New Ares (*see p.135*). The cult statue by Alkamenes which Pausanias saw has been tentatively identified as the Ares Borghese, although this has been disputed (*see p.136*). That the image of Ares dedicated in this displaced temple was probably youthful may seem more likely owing to the age of Augustus' adopted son who was at that time worshipped under the Ares title. Pausanias mentions two statues of Aphrodite and an Athena. They seem to have been identified with pieces of sculpture found close to the Temple (*see pp.137-138*). The image of Enyo is otherwise unknown.

Around the temple Pausanias saw statues of Herakles and Theseus, but nothing more conclusive is known of these. Like the Apollo by Leochares which stood in front of the Patroos Temple, the Apollo Anadoumenos has been thought to have been the original of the Apollo Belvedere, but a copy of a bronze athlete is also a possible candidate, since its dates coincide with Leochares, if indeed his Apollo *diadoumenos* was the one seen by Pausanias in the middle of the Agora (*see p.139; cf. p.99*). Pausanias next mentions an image of Kalades who was a "writer of *nomoi*". The word can mean laws or musical tunes, and since he is not known as a writer of laws, and he stands between statues of Pindar, the Lyric poet, and Apollo, he was probably a composer. Pausanias goes on to describe the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton "not far off", indicating that they stood at a slight distance (*see p.146*). This is evidence that the decree passed in 450 was still in force since it stated that no statue was to be set up near their images. Pausanias is our only source for there being two separate groups and also that Antenor made those

which Xerxes took (*see p.142*). From another source it is known that they stood opposite the Metroon which means that Pausanias must have been walking south from the Ares Temple. It is implied in Pausanias' description that the old images stood next to the new ones. Since there are no distinct identifiable copies of the tyrannicides from the Archaic period they may have been kouroi (*see p.143*). Copies of the Kritios and Nesiotes group have been identified, the best preserved copies being the ones in Naples Museum (*see p.141*).

The Odeion was built on the axis of the Agora and was a focal point in the Roman period. Pausanias wrote his *Description of Athens* before he saw Herodes Atticus' rebuilding of it. He mentions it in a later 'book', which is evidence that he must have revisited Athens (*see p.148*). Pausanias describes statues of Ptolemies as standing in front of the Odeion. He singles out three, Philometor, Philadelphos and Soter and Arisnoë II. Although it seems that these had their images there it is only implied (*see pp.149-151*). Philip and Alexander also had their statues near the Ptolemies (*see pp.151-152*). Also a portrait of Lysimachus was set up, according to Pausanias, like those of Philip and Alexander out of sycophancy rather than respect (*see p.153*). Pyrrhus' statue was also set up by the Athenians. The long digression on his history may have been to explain why his image stands near that of Lysimachus who ousted him.

The Enneakrounos seen by Pausanias was somewhere in the Agora, possibly the so-called south-east fountain house (*see pp.155*). The Spring is not to be confused with the Enneakrounos mentioned by Thucydides which stood over in the old city, to the south of the Akropolis (*see p.154*).

The Temple of Demeter and Kore and the Temple of Triptolemos stood outside the main Eleusinian sanctuary which was to the south of the Agora. That this was the case is assured by the fact that Pausanias was prevented from describing what he saw within the sanctuary but since he had already mentioned the temples of Demeter, Kore and Triptolemos, they must have stood outside. The temples are described as being above the Enneakrounos, implying higher ground, and the slope up to the Akropolis, which is the proposed site for the Eleusinion, to the south certainly qualifies (*see p.157*). The location is also supported by the finding of a large number of objects related to the Eleusinian cult, not just vessels (*see pp.158, 164, 169-70*), but also large dedicatory bases which could not have been moved far from their original position owing to their weight (*see p.157*). The bull seen near by may not have been dedicated to Demeter, in fact Eukleia may have been the recipient, although where her temple stood is still unknown (*see p.170*). The images of the philosophers, Thales and Epimenides, may have been erected near the Library of Pantaenus, either to the east or west, since philosophers

frequented it, as they did the Poikile Stoa which may also have been located close by (see below).

Pausanias then begins the next section, by indicating a new direction. He describes the Hephaisteion as being above the Agora ('*Kerameikos*' in the text) and Basileios Stoa. A porch was built behind the Basileios Stoa which may have been the route up to the Hephaisteion which was being indicated by Pausanias. This seems the simplest explanation as to why he would single out the smallest stoa on the far north west corner of the Agora. The cult images were probably by Alkamenes and may have had a huge floral decoration standing between them owing to the large amount of metal recorded for the *anthemon* in the inscription (see p.179). The image of Athena had grey-green eyes, which Pausanias found unusual enough to comment on. He traces a myth about Athena to a Libyan legend in which she is the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis. It is also known that the goddess Neith was associated with Athena in Libya. Curiously Pausanias does not discuss the Homeric epithet *glaukopis* (see p.179-180).

The *hieron* of Aphrodite Ourania has been located over by the north side of the Agora. This cannot have been the one described by Pausanias since he saw it "close by" the Hephaisteion and the suggested altar and temple are not close enough. Also the temple is Roman and mediocre, and would have been omitted by Pausanias (see p.183). The iconography of her image is implied by Pausanias' silence. He gives no specific description of her statue as he does other Ourania images, for instance in one instance she is a herm or in another she stands with her foot on a turtle (see p.186). The statue then may have been a conventional type of Aphrodite, with no specific attributes (see p.187).

The next section begins with indication that a new direction is to be taken, namely towards the Poikile. The Hermes Agoraios may have been anthropomorphic but it is not certain, since there are so many copies of separate Herms that it cannot be known for sure (see p.190). The gate Pausanias describes as being near the Poikile has been thought to have been the monumental arch to the north of the Agora (see p.192). But Pausanias mentions that surmounting it was just a trophy. A smaller gateway in the prestigious south east area of the Agora which led through to the Roman Agora may in fact have been the one described by Pausanias. There also seems to be a case for suggesting that the Poikile Stoa was over on this side. One reason is that it was frequented by philosophers. Pausanias saw images of Thales and Epimenides over by the Eleusinion, which may suggest the Stoa's proximity. If it was located here why did Pausanias not mention it when he was over on the south side of the Agora? In order to structure his tour he may have used the gateway and Poikile to lead to the Roman Agora

where he seems to have seen the Altars to Pity, Rumour, Shame and Effort. From here he goes east round the Akropolis towards the Olympieion. The area near this gate was paved with marble which had been laid at the expense of the *demos* (see p.195). That the altars were located in the Roman Agora seems likely owing to the simple fact that by Pausanias' time the word Agora, which would have referred to the Market place, meant the Roman Agora (see p.207).

A close study of Pausanias' use of adverbs and prepositions is vital in understanding the topography of Athens. It is clear that Pausanias is consistent in his choice of words to indicate position (Strid, (1976):*passim*; for lists see Pirenne-Delforge and Purnelle, (1997):*passim*). For instance Pausanias' description of the images of Harmodios and Aristogeiton as being οὐ πόρρω ("not far from") the other statues, is a case in point. The phrase indicates that the monument he is about to describe does not stand adjacent (further examples in his *Description of Attika* are to be found at: 1.2.3, tomb not far from the gate; 1.2.4, the Poseidon and Polybotes not far off; 1.18.4, place not far from the Sarapeion; 1.23.9, memorial not far from the Melitid Gate; 1.27.3, Two parthenoi stay not far from the Polias Temple; 1.30.3, the Academy not far from Plato's memorial; 1.35.1, islands not far from the land; 1.35.5, the rock on Salamis not far from the harbour; 1.40.2, not far from the spring; 1.41.3, not far from the memorial; 1.41.8, there is not far a tomb of Tereus). It is clear in all the examples that οὐ πόρρω indicates a slight distance. In contrast objects that are adjacent are described by Pausanias as being πλησίον (instances of the word πλησίον in his *Description of Athens* alone: 1.2.4, 3.5, 4.5, 8.4, 8.6, 14.1, 15.1, 19.1, 19.2, 20.4, 21.3, 23.3, 23.4, 24.7). Also constant is Pausanias' frequent use of ὑπέρ, meaning "above" (Pirenne-Delforge and Purnelle, (1997):998-999; for instance his description of the position of the Hephaisteion, 1.14.6, see p.175, the route up to the Hephaisteion, via the Basileios Stoa, is shown just by using one preposition and two landmarks).

One of the most important results of this study is the significance of Pausanias' careful use of the terms ἀνάθημα, ἄγαλμα, εἰκὼν and ἀνδριάς, each referring to separate types of statues. The first refers to dedications, the second to divine images and the last two seem to refer only to mortal images (see below). The term ἀνάθημα has been examined in some detail in relation to the dedication of Mummius (Paus.5.24.8; Tzifopoulos, (1993):93-100). Pausanias mentions there that Mummius' dedication of an image of Zeus from the spoils of the Achaian War had been the first, by a private citizen or senator, in a Greek sanctuary. But it has been said that Mummius was by no means the first, since inscribed bases have been found both at Delos and Delphi before 146. The

answer to the problem lies in an important passage, and one not ignored before, namely Pausanias' introduction to his description of Olympia (Paus.5.21.1; Tzifopoulos, (1993):93-100). He states that he will first describe the dedicatory offerings (the ἀναθήματα) and mention the statues (ἀνδριάντες) afterwards. On the Athenian Akropolis, however, he notes that the statues (ἀνδριάντες) and everything else (ὅποσα ἄλλα) are dedications (ἀναθήματα) which is in contrast with Olympia where the statues are not necessarily to be seen as dedications. Thus it is clear that to Pausanias ἀναθήματα refers specifically to objects dedicated. However, the term ἀνδριάς is used by Pausanias for images of men, not of gods (e.g.1.5.4, Pandion; 8.4, Kalades; 8.5, Harmodios and Aristogeiton; 16.1, Solon and Seleukos;18.3, Autolykos; 18.8, Isokrates; 23.3, the general Diitrephes; 25.1, Perikles). Εἰκὼν also seems to apply to both divine and human images (e.g. 1.2.4, Poseidon and Polybotes (see below for explanation); 5.2, Eponymous Heroes; 8.4, Demosthenes; 8.4, Pindar; 8.6, Arsinoë; 11.1, Pyrrhus; 17.2, Ptolemy; 18.3, Themistokles; 18.6, Hadrian; 21.1, poets; 23.9, Epicharinos; 24.2, "other images"; 24.7, Hadrian). As can be seen, most are non-divine, only Poseidon is divine. The image of Poseidon was re-used and dedicated to another by the time Pausanias saw it, thus the image was no longer 'divine' (see pp.52-53). Thus the term εἰκὼν mostly applies to mortals. What the difference between an ἀνδριάς and an εἰκὼν was is difficult to tell; the latter may imply a mere "likeness" and former a closer "portrait". Or one may be a full length statue and the other (εἰκὼν) a bust, but without further evidence this remains a tentative explanation. Ἀγάλμα refers specifically to divine images (e.g. 1.2.4, Demeter, Kore and Iakchos, 2.5 Athena Paionia, Zeus, etc., acroteria; 8.2, Amphiaraios, Eirene and Ploutos; 8.4, Aphrodites and Enyo; 14.1, Triptolemos; 14.6, Athena Glaukopis; 14.7, Aphrodite;18.3, Eirene and Hestia; 18.6, Zeus Olympios; 19.1, Apollo Pythios; 19.2, Aphrodite; 19.6, Artemis; 23.2, Aphrodite; 23.4, Aphrodite; 23.7, Artemis Brauronia; 24.5, Athena Parthenos; 24.8, Apollo Parnopios; 26.4, Artemis Leukophryne; 26.4, Athena, etc.). Thus Pausanias' use of these four terms is consistent in his description of Attika, and apparently throughout his work.

In conclusion to the discussion of Pausanias' use of language and style it is clear that he attempted to vary sentence construction and word order in order that his *Description* did not become a mere list of things he saw on site. Thus anacoluthon creeps in, he changes mood of a verb in the middle of a construction, for instance he may prefer the indicative over the optative (Paus.10.5.7; 6.6). In Indirect Statement he may use οἶδα + ὅτι instead of the participle, and then use οἶδα + participle after this (Paus.1.24.8). He often has need to repeat the article in order to make clear what he is referring to in the second half of the sentence, as "The road from there, the one to Delphi..." (Paus.10.5.1: ἡ

δὲ λεωφόρος αὐτόθεν ἢ ἐς Δελφοὺς...). Another oddity is his switching from an expected accusative to put the nouns into the nominative. For instance at the beginning of his description of Elis he shifts the emphasis in the sentence to the Eleans and Arcadians by making them the subjects (Paus.5.1.1). This is not correct Attic, but by doing this Pausanias not only raises the importance of these people but makes his style economical. In this way he does not have to compose two sentences; he can abbreviate the process and alter the construction. It is also worth noting that he frequently uses the reflexive dative οἱ, which again aids brevity. He also prefers to use the dative plus the verb "to be" to imply possession. He varies the tenses of the participles which accompany main verbs as well (for instance Paus.1.2.2, the Themistokles episode). Where the sense is clear, he may miss out the noun. Therefore the title of a building is often omitted while the deity to whom the building belonged is written in the genitive. Thus "In the temple of Artemis of Ephesus," becomes in Greek "ἐν Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐφεσίας", the word *naos* is left out (Paus.10.26.6). Such shortcuts make the text seem disjointed when analysed, but on site make the text easier to read and the book lighter. It may also reveal the speed with which Pausanias composed the text, since such abbreviated structuring of language would have accelerated his task.

Pausanias' use of the words *naos*, *hieron*, and *temenos*, refer specifically to certain structures or religious areas. In contrast he has a separate vocabulary to describe secular buildings, or buildings which do not conform to the conventional designs of religious constructions. The term used to describe the Pompeion is οἰκοδόμημα. The design of the building conforms to the shape of one whose function was storage, thus the term implies its shape and purpose. The "house" of Poulytion matches another description which supports the view that Pausanias' choice of vocabulary is not random (*see p.70*). Pausanias describes the Mother of the Gods area in the Agora as being an *hieron*. Again he has chosen this term deliberately, since the Metroon was a four-room complex (*see p.102*). The Tholos received its name because of its shape (*see pp.111,114*). The *Naoi* of Demeter and Kore, and Triptolemos are temples (1.14.1, 14.4, *see pp.156-159, 160*), like the *Naos* of Hephaistos (1.14.6, *see pp.175-177*) and Apollo Patroos (1.3.4, *see p.95*). Thus Pausanias' use of the term *hieron* for the sanctuaries of Aphrodite (1.14.7, *see p.184*) and the Eleusinion (1.14.4, *see p.167*) should provide some aid in their identification and location.

He quotes inscriptions and there are indications in his narrative that he must have read many more than he transcribes (for instance the statue bases in the Agora may have been read to discover the identities; cf. the numerous dedications at Olympia named and described in Book VI; Tzifopoulos, (1991); Habicht, (1985b):64-94; Whittaker, 219

(1991):171-186). He is also aware of the different scripts used in inscriptions, which again suggests his familiarity with his subject (Paus.1.2.4, *see pp.45, 47*). Pausanias was in many ways one of the first art historians. He was aware of the different periods of Greek sculpture (as attested by the numerous references to *xoana*, *see* Rocha-Pereira, (1989) Vol.III, Index; archaic statuary; cf. Paus.1.21.2, "I think the image of Aischylos is much later than his death"). He also has an eye for quality (Paus.1.23.4: "I do not want to write about less distinguished images"), design and technique (Paus.1.21.5, the Sauromatian breastplate, made by 'barbarians', "on seeing it, one would say that barbarians are no less skilled than Greeks in the arts."; the comment also has a tinge of Hellenic pride). He is also aware of the tastes of his readers, for he seems to be aware that the rigid poses of the ancient statues are not to everyone's liking, and so turns his description to those statues which would then be of more interest because they are later in date (Paus.1.24.3, "those who prefer artistic skill to antiques", of which the Endoios Athena, *see p.180*, and the Herms are examples). He was also so familiar with the work of certain sculptors that he could identify their works of art independently (Paus.2.25.5, works by Kalamis).

The nature of what Pausanias chose to write indicates that he concentrated on points of history and myth, linking them to buildings and monuments which were currently standing in his own time (cf. "[connecting] the past with the present", Ebeling, (1913):139). His account of antiquity is most definitely tailored by the period in which he lived (Alcock, (1996):266; e.g.Paus.1.2.5, *House of Poulytion*, *see p.69-70*). Pausanias himself notes that the reports of Attalos and Ptolemy had had longer to mellow and that the oral tradition had, by that time, vanished, implying that the evidence left would not be as reliable (Paus.1.6.1; R.Thomas, (1989):284). So Pausanias explained certain points in long digressions, justified by his explanation that there were no suitable surviving accounts.

Pausanias does not comment on the more popular myths, since he assumed a basic knowledge of Greek myth in his 'readers'. It also explains why Pausanias chooses the images he does, since they would have meant something to his 'readers' as well as to Pausanias himself. In this way the reason why Pausanias chose to include lesser known versions of various myths becomes clear, he would be supplementing knowledge rather than repeating something which may already be known. For instance he remarks that "Everyone, even a foreigner who has learnt Greek" knows about the love of Phaedra and the evil the nurse committed to save her (Paus.1.22.1). The detail regarding "who has learnt Greek" may suggest that it was a subject which occurred in select language texts,

and also reveals Pausanias' belief that his audience may have included native Latin speakers. However, he acknowledges that although there are some who will be aware of certain things there are still others who will not know ("those who are wiser than others in matters regarding their country's antiquities know that the altar belongs to Androgeus", Paus.1.1.4). This is also true of his historical accounts, for instance he mentions that "Xenophon and others have written up the entire war" (Paus.1.3.4). Not wanting to re-write something which can be read adequately somewhere else, Pausanias chooses to point his 'readers' in the direction where this information can be sought. It is likely that a number of those who used Pausanias would have known, or at least had access to, Xenophon, Thucydides and Herodotus, and so may even have known the story of the war already. Pausanias' intention not to repeat stories but to tell something new can be seen throughout his work, which is a much more rewarding experience for both the 'reader' and the 'writer'.

As said before, his approach is similar to Herodotus', particularly in his preference for personal opinion (Hartog, (1981):272ff). His method is always the same, to synthesise what he was told, and reproduce it in a shorter, more succinct form (Meadows, (1995):94). Usually these sources were single rather than multiple, but Pausanias may have used more sources than he mentions, as he must have done in those instances where he had to make value judgements over more than one version (contrary to Meadows, (1995):112, who like Pelling, thought that Pausanias was like other authors who tend to imply that they have read more than they actually have). The formulae used by Pausanias such as "The Athenians say that...", and so on, give the impression that he is referring to a personal opinion, but they could refer to some written account of a local oral tradition (Veyne, (1988):132). It is important to notice the language Pausanias uses in these instances, for instance his use of the verb *akoe* (hearsay) is a clear indication that it was an immediate tradition, an opinion, an explanation. Also in most instances Pausanias hunts for the oldest tradition and settles for it (Elsner, (1992):14). A case in point is the cult of Aphrodite Ourania and also his discussion of why the Athena has grey-green eyes (Paus.1.14.7, *see p.189*; 1.14.6 *see pp.179-80*). He traces the Ourania cult back to the Assyrians, while the other to the Libyans. That Pausanias seems settled with the Libyan tradition is because in their myth Athena was the daughter of Poseidon and Lake Tritonis: one cannot get back further than such a parentage.

It has been recognised that Pausanias' description of Hadrian's various works in Athens is important to the study of the architecture of Athens as well as for Hadrian's philhellenism and the Roman Imperial Cult (Birley, (1997):177: "precious witness

supplied by Pausanias"; Willers, (1989):9; Adams, (1989):10-16). An act of Hadrian's generosity to the Athenians is recorded in a fragment of a letter of AD 132 to the Athenians from Hadrian himself: "Know that I take every opportunity to benefit both the city publicly and individual Athenians. To your boys I give..." (translation Birley, (1997):263; Smallwood, (1966):445). It is known that he stayed in Athens although it is not known where exactly (again Birley, (1997):177). Hadrian travelled a great deal throughout Greece and it is through Pausanias' description that his travels come alive, indeed as one historian put it, it is through his description that the "breath of life still blows about Hadrian's tours in the country" (Henderson, (1923):106).

In view of Hadrian's great benefactions to the city of Athens it is not so surprising that he was greatly honoured by having his portrait set up in the Parthenon (Paus.1.24.7). Over one hundred altars were set up in his honour (Benjamin, (1963):57-86). Pausanias, like other writers of the same period, notably Plutarch, Aristeides and Dio Chrysostom, thinks life under Roman rule is fine, and only under Sulla did it take a turn for the worse (Paus.1.20.4). This may also be implied in Pausanias' comment that the Greeks are the only people who flourished under a democracy (Paus.4.35.3). Pausanias has a problem with the imperial cult, seeing it as an excuse for sycophancy, which changes men into gods (Paus.8.2.5; Bowersock, (1969):710). The numerous altars set up to Hadrian which Pausanias mentions, are of course indicative of the worship of Hadrian, but they do not come under criticism from Pausanias (Paus.8.2.5; Bowersock, (1969):710). It is Hadrian's religious fervour and generosity to the Athenians which Pausanias respects most (1.36.3;1.24.3). He paints such convincing and contrasting pictures throughout his work of the dreadful Nero (ἀπειράτως; Paus.10.7.1) and of the benevolent Hadrian (Paus.1.3.2, benefactor to all subjects, especially Athens; 1.5.5, never voluntarily entered into war; cf. the dedications which Pausanias describes as being next to each other, 2.17.6). Pausanias also contrasts Hadrian with another of the famous 'bad' Romans, Sulla (for instance, Paus.1.20.7, Sulla's treatment of the Athenians in 86BC was so severe as to be unfitting for a Roman, but Athens flourished again when Hadrian was emperor; cf. others are not rated highly, cf. 1.9.4, Alexander and Philip, for whom he says statues were set up out of sycophancy, although he respects the fact that they were great individuals; 1.9.7-8, Lysimachos who destroyed the cities of Lebedos and Kolophon, which deserved to have a lament written about them).

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It is evident in his first 'book' that Pausanias had a vision of his wider aim, to produce more than one account of the monuments in Greece. That he seems to have chosen to write (and publish?) his description of Athens first is significant in that his conception of the city's importance is established from the beginning. His respect for Athenian opinion and religious observance is detectable throughout the whole of his work. The honesty of the man is evident, although his observation was tainted by his own criteria, which left some monuments unmentioned and others receiving only a brief comment. But since his aim was to provide a general description of all things Greek (...πάντα ὁμοίως ἐπεξιόντα τὰ Ἑλληνικά, Paus.1.26.4), he seems to have been successful in achieving this.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations are standard. For the sake of clarity some are listed below

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AM</i>	<i>Athenische Mitteilungen</i>
<i>ARV²</i>	<i>Attic red-figure Vase-painters</i> , Beazley, J.D., (1963)
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
<i>EAA</i>	<i>Enciclopedia dell'arte antica classica e orientale</i> , Roma (1958-)
<i>FdD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , ed. École française d'Athènes
<i>Fleck.Jahr.</i>	<i>Fleckeisens Jahrbuch</i>
<i>Hesp.</i>	<i>Hesperia</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>HTh.Rev</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>ILN</i>	<i>Illustrated London News</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologicae Classicae</i> , Zurich, Munich
<i>LSJM</i>	<i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Liddell, Scott, Stuart Jones and McKenzie, Oxford, (1985) edd.
<i>OCD</i>	<i>Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , Hammond and Scullard (1996) edd.
<i>ÖJh</i>	<i>Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , edd. Pauly, Wissowa, and Kroll, Stuttgart (1893-)
<i>Rend.Acc.Nap.</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti</i> , Napoli
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , Dittenberger (1915-21)
<i>SO</i>	<i>Symbolae Osloensis</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Society</i>

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Plates

All photographs are my own. Plans are from Thompson and Wycherley (1972), unless otherwise stated.

- Plate 1** Plan of Athens (Höpfner (1976): fig.24)
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bottom Reconstruction of Roman 'Pompeion' (Höpfner (1976):fig.184)
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bottom Photo of the current state of the Pompeion site
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lower mid Photo of the Base
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bottom Poseidon attacking from horseback (*LIMC* VII, Poseidon no.160)

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top right *horos* of Kerameikos, on the north-west side of the Dipylon
middle left *horos* of Kerameikos north-east side of the Dipylon
middle right Fourth century *Horos* of the Kerameikos (Shear, (1971):267, fig.4)
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top right Colossal head of Athena, possibly from the Euboulides monument (Stewart (1990):804)
middle View along the street which runs above the ancient *dromos* looking south east towards the Agora and the Akropolis
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top right Large draped headless female torso, possibly Demokratia, Themis (or Tyche), S 2370
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bottom left Fragmentary plaque found in the south corner of the room
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 Metroon. The north west corner of the Bouleuterion begins
 with the flat blocks in the centre of the photo which lead south
- Plate 30** **top** Ionic Propylon looking west towards the Bouleuterion
middle Looking east. Metroon complex to the left, Ionic propylon can
 be seen to the far right of the picture; the Bouleuterion is
 in the foreground
bottom Tholos seen from the south
- Plate 31** **top** Plan of the Tholos
bottom Tholos, seen from the south east. Its propylon can be seen
 in the foreground

- Plate 32** **top** Reconstruction of Eponymous Heroes base (Shear, (1970):pl.45)
middle Eponymous Heroes base *in situ*, in the foreground are the foundations of the separate base set up to the south
bottom Cuttings for clamps which would have held the crowning base blocks at the south end
- Plate 33** **top left** Eponymous Heroes base looking north
top right View of the base, from the south-east corner of the Metroon, looking south-east towards the Akropolis.
The base can be seen in the centre of the photograph.
middle The Eponymous Heroes (?) from the East frieze of the Parthenon; from the left, after the standing female (fig.17):
fig.18, Antiochos; fig.19, Hippothoon; fig.20, Pandion, fig.21, Ajax, fig.22, Oineus, fig.23, Leos,
bottom The Eponymous Heroes (?) from the East frieze of the Parthenon, from the left, fig.43, Kekrops, fig.44, Akamas, fig.45, Aigeus, fig.46, Erechtheus
- Plate 34** **top and middle** View of Amphiareion at Oropos
bottom right Amphiaraos (Petrakos, (1992):20, fig.12)
- Plate 35** **top left** Eirene and Ploutos (Stewart (1990):pl.486)
top centre (Stewart (1990):pl.485)
top right (Stewart (1990):pl.836)
bottom left Demosthenes (Richter, (1984):109, fig.72)
bottom centre Demosthenes, head only (Richter, (1984):111, fig.73)
bottom right Demosthenes (Richter, (1984):113, fig.74)
- Plate 36** **top** Plan of the Ares Temple
bottom left Central Acroterion: youthful wingless female statue (Hebe?)
NM 1732, S676, 679, 870,1072)
bottom right Ares Borghese, Louvre, MA 866 (Stewart (1990):401)
- Plate 37** **top** Line drawing reconstruction of the Ares Altar, the foundations of which were found to the east of the Temple (M.Ç.Sahlin, *Die Entwicklung der griechischen Monumentalaltäre*, Bonn (1972):19)
middle left Statue of Aphrodite S 1882, (*see p.136*)
middle right Fragments of four statues from the Ares Altar
bottom right Torso of Athena, found 18m south of the Ares Temple, considered to be the Athena Pausanias saw in the Ares Temple; S654

- Plate 38** Larger than life size statue of an Hellenistic Aphrodite, S378
- Plate 39** **top left** Statue of a young *Diadoumenos*, believed to be a copy by Polykleitos (F.Abbate, *Art of Classical Greece*, London (1972):pl.19)
top right Standing image of Pindar, now lost; Ursinis *Imag.*p.37 (Richter (1984):179, fig.179)
bottom right Larger than life size statue of Pindar, Memphis (Richter, (1984):fig.142)
- Plate 40** **top left** Pindar bust from Aphrodisias in Karia (Richter (1984):178, fig.139)
top right Fragment of the clay head of Aristogeiton from Baiae; (Stewart, (1990):230)
bottom left Harmodios and Aristogeiton from Naples (Richter (1984):125, fig.86a)
bottom right Detail of Harmodios head, from the Naples example (Richter, (1984):178, fig.86b)
- Plate 41** **top** Plan of the Odeion
middle and bottom Orchestra of the Odeion
- Plate 42** **top** Tritons set up as supports for the architrave or portico for the Odeion after the remodelling in the 2nd century AD, after Pausanias visited Athens
bottom Stage decoration of the Odeion; female herm head (see *p.149*)
- Plate 43** **top** Marble head in Boston, considered to be Ptolemy IX (a reworking of an image of Ptolemy X (R.R.R.Smith (1988):96, cat. no.57)
bottom Head from Paraitonion once fitted with a broad diadem, possibly Ptolemy IX, Soter II (R.R.R.Smith, (1988):97, cat.no.60)
lower bottom, left Ptolemy II and Berenike, (Richter (1984):232, fig.200)
lower bottom right Berenike (Richter, (1984):232, fig.201)
- Plate 44** **top left** Marble head of Alexander found near the Erechtheion on the Akropolis (Stewart, (1990):pl.560)
top right Alexander, The Azara Herm, found at Tivoli, possibly a copy of an original by Lysippos (Stewart (1990):562)
middle right Gold medaillon from Tarsos which bears an image of a bearded man, possibly Philip (Richter, (1984):224, fig.184)

bottom right Philip on horseback, coin (Richter (1984):224, fig.183)
bottom left Pyrrhus (?) herm from Herculaneum (Richter (1984):230, fig.196)

Plate 45 **top left** Plan of the Enneakrounos in the Agora
 top right Plan of the Eleusinion
 bottom left Inscribed base for a Herm; Agora I 5484
 bottom right Draped female headless statue found near the Eleusinion (S1016), possibly from the pediment of a temple

Plate 46 **top** Relief from Eleusis, Triptolemos is the centre figure
 bottom left Late Roman Fortification Wall, behind which may have been the site of the Eleusinion, seen from the south looking north towards the Agora
 bottom right Looking up hill towards the south

Plate 47 **top** Reconstruction of the Eleusinion at Eleusis; Eleusis Museum
 bottom Plan of the site of the Eleusinion at Eleusis; note the buildings and monuments outside the walls to the north

Plate 48 **top** Kernoï from the buried deposits near the Eleusinion (Pollitt *Hesp.*48 (1979):fig.8, pl.14.4)
 middle left Thales from Mosaic at Baalbek, 3rd century AD (Richter (1984):197, fig.158)
 middle right Plan showing the location of the kernoï deposits around the Eleusinion (Pollitt, *Hesp.*48 (1979):210, fig.2)
 bottom Votive bull from the Nymphaion of Herodes Atticus, at Olympia

Plate 49 Fragments of a colossal female figure found in the south east temple S2070a,b (Demeter? Eukleia?)

Plate 50 **top** Hephaisteion above the trees on the west side of the Agora; Pediment, metopes and triglyphs can be seen
 middle Plan of the Hephaisteion
 bottom Looking north east from the Kolonos Agoraios at the Hephaisteion, over to the Basileios stoa seen at the top of the Photograph

Plate 51 **top left** South-east corner of the *Pronaos* of the Hephaisteion
 top right South side of the Hephaisteion
 bottom left Ceiling coffers of the *Pronaos* seen from the north side
 bottom right Looking west down the southern colonnade

- Plate 52** **top** Hephaisteion, south-east side
bottom left South-east corner of the *Pronaos*, with a view of the inner frieze *in situ*
bottom right View through the *cella* of the Temple
- Plate 53** Harrison's reconstruction of the cult statues and *anthemon* (E.B.Harrison, *AJA* 81 (1977):ill.2)
- Plate 54** **top** Coins showing the temple of Aphrodite (site guide, *A Brief History and Description of Old Paphos: Kouklia*: figs.12 and 13)
bottom Hellenistic Arsenal and surrounding area, 1= Hephaisteion, 2= 'Hellenistic Arsenal'; the buildings on the west side of the Agora can be seen below these (from the left, the Tholos to the southern edge of the Basileios Stoa to the right).
- Plate 55** **top** View of the south-east gateway to the road towards the Roman Agora, looking east towards the Gateway of Athena Archegetis, seen behind. The south wall of the Stoa of Attalos can be seen on the left of the photograph
bottom left View through the Gateway of the Roman Agora looking back east towards the South-east gateway of the Greek Agora
middle right Cuts on the south wall of the Attalos Stoa, for the original steps which were removed when the marble pavement was put in place
bottom right Attic red-figure calyx-krater, attributed to the Niobid painter (Stewart, (1990):pl.261)
- Plate 56** **top** Seleukos Nikator I (Richter, (1984):238, fig.223)
bottom left Line drawing of the Altar of the Twelve Gods.
bottom right The Leagros base *in situ*
- Plate 57** **top** Athena Archegetis Gateway to the Roman Agora
middle View of the south east and east sides of the Roman Agora
bottom An altar found in the Roman Agora.

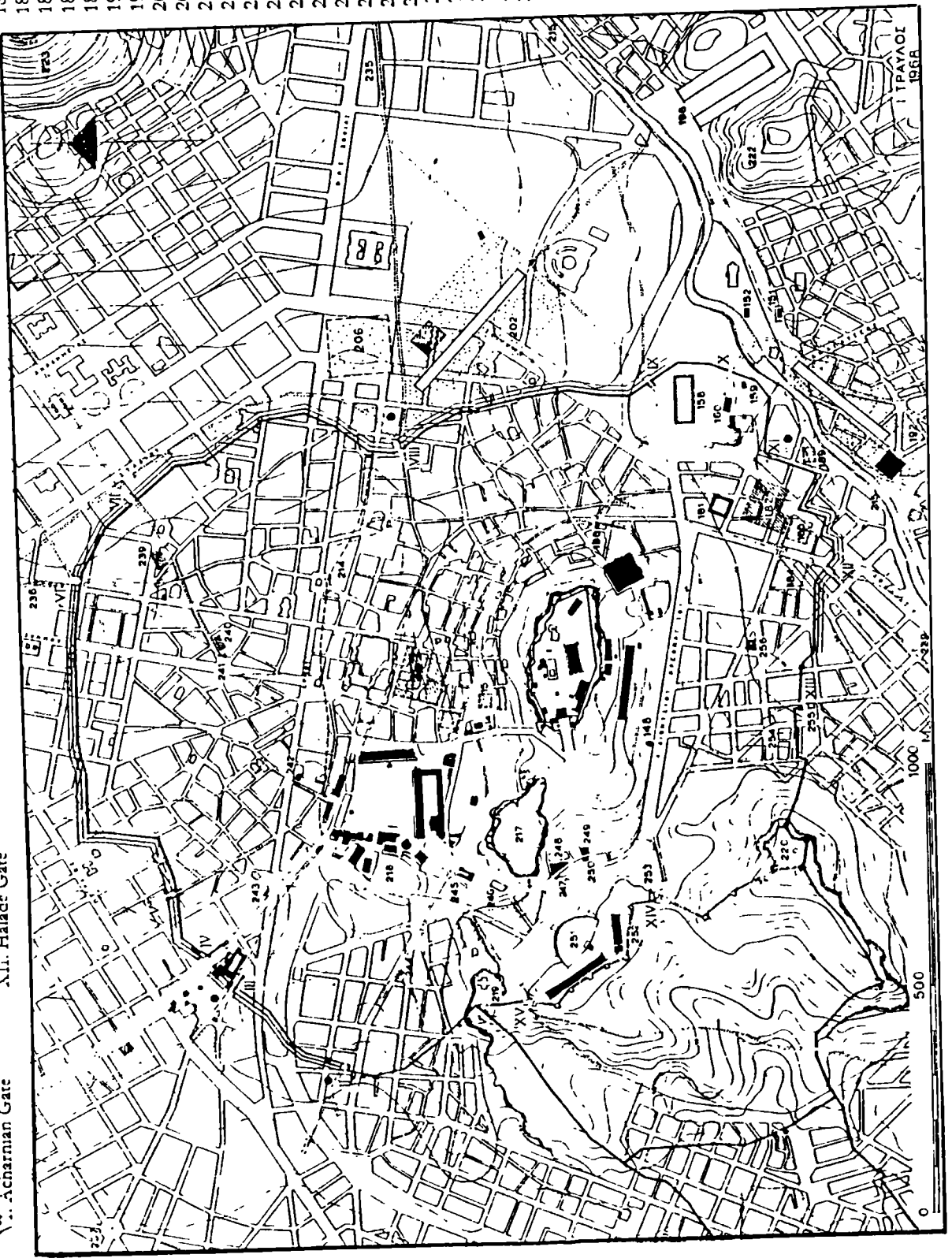
- I. Dorian Gate
- II. Periac Gate
- III. Sacred Gate
- IV. Dipylon
- V. Eriai Gate
- VI. Achaean Gate

- VII. Northeast Gate
- VIII. Diocares Gate
- IX. Hippades Gate
- X. Diomeian Gate
- XI. Itonian Gate
- XII. Halact Gate

- XIII. South Gate
- XIV. Dipylon above the Gates
- XV. Melrides Gate
- 14. Eleusinion
- 15. Prytaneion

- 14b. Shrine of Nympha
- 151. Artemis Agrotora
- 152. Metroon in Agrai
- 153. Olympion
- 159. Kronos and Rhea

- 160. Deipnion
- 176. State Burial-place
- 181. Paliadon
- 182. Shrine of Kodros
- 184. Dionysion in Limnai
- 185. Palaestra of Tauras
- 186. Lydikrates Monument
- 189. Prythion
- 192. Kynosarges
- 198. Stadium
- 202. Lykeion
- 206. Garden of Theophrastos
- 214. Eridanos
- 215. Ilissos
- 217. Areopagus
- 218. Kolonos Agoraios
- 219. Hill of the Nymphs
- 220. Mouseion
- 222. Ardetos
- 223. Lykabettos
- 229. Road to Pnaieron
- 235. Road to the Mesogaia
- 236. Road to Acharnai
- 237. Road to Eleusis
- 239. Hellenistic Building
- 240. Heros Iatros
- 241. Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratia
- 242. Shrine of Herakles
- 243. Monument of Euboulides
- 244. Artemis Aristoboule
- 245. Poros Building
- 246. Grave enclosure
- 247. Lesche
- 248. Herakles Alexikakos
- 249. Amyneion
- 250. Fountain House
- 251. Pnyx
- 252. Diatibisura
- 253. Naikos
- 254. Grave enclosure NW of Gate XIII
- 255. Grave enclosure near Gate XIII
- 256. Classical house



THE AGORA AND ITS LITERATURE

IN THE SECOND CENTURY AD.

Plate 2

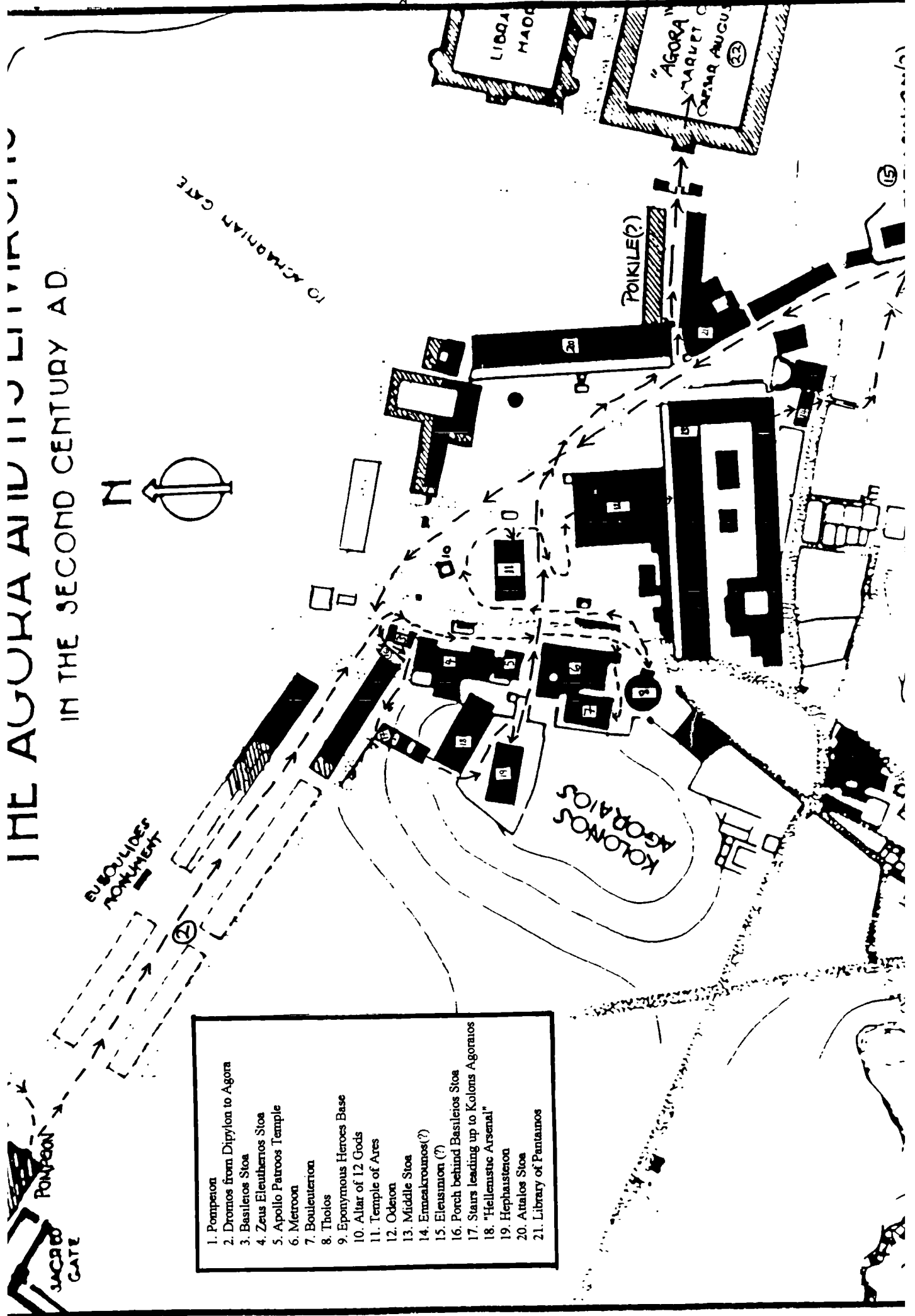


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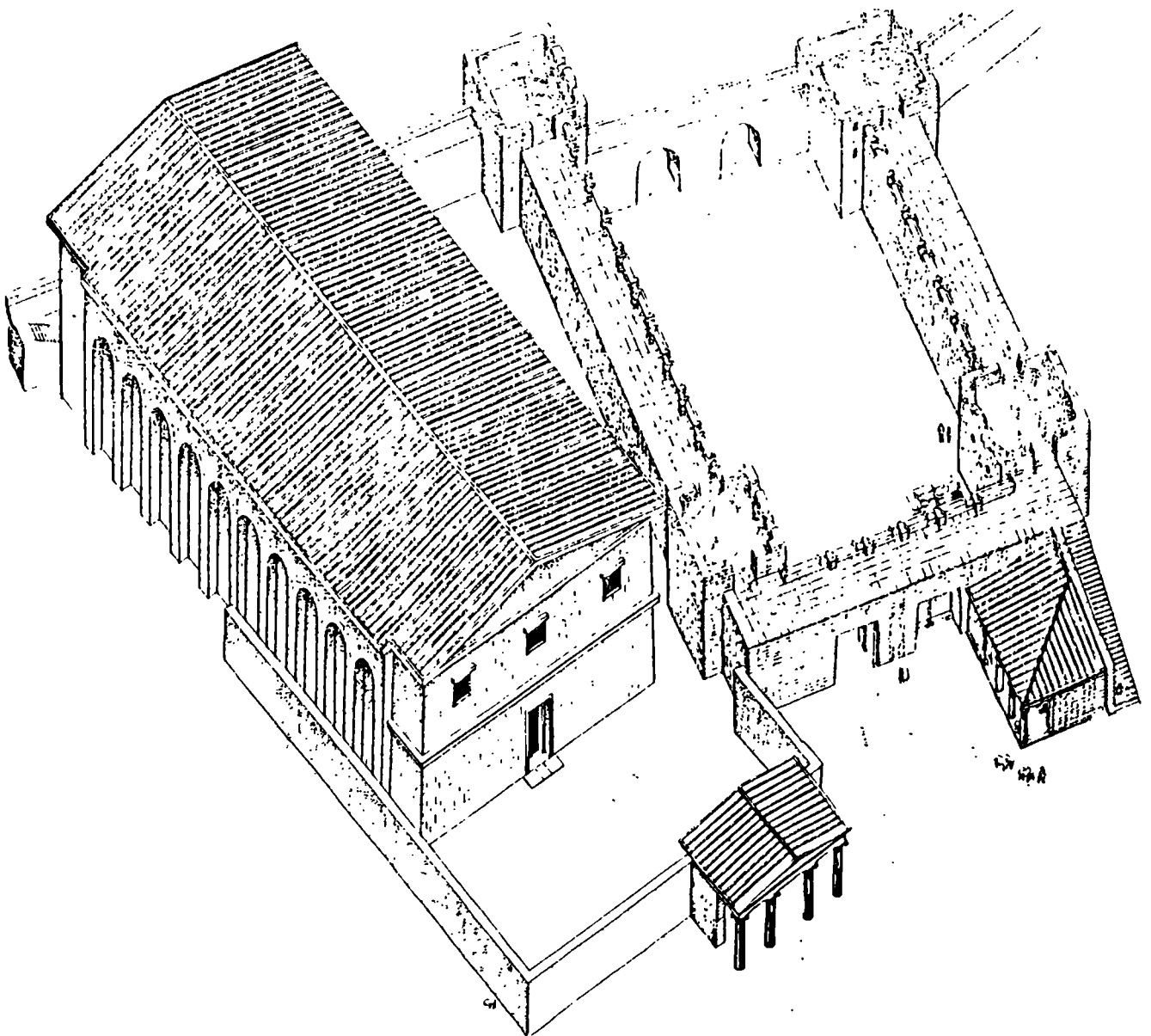
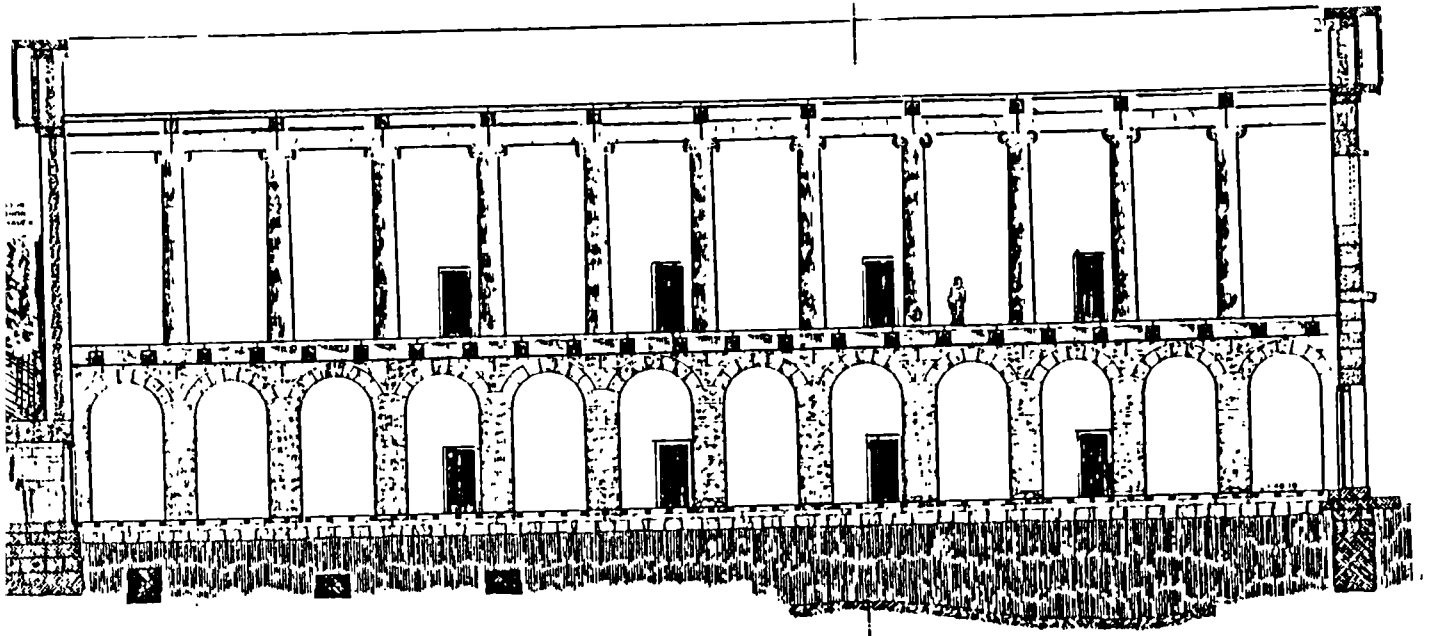


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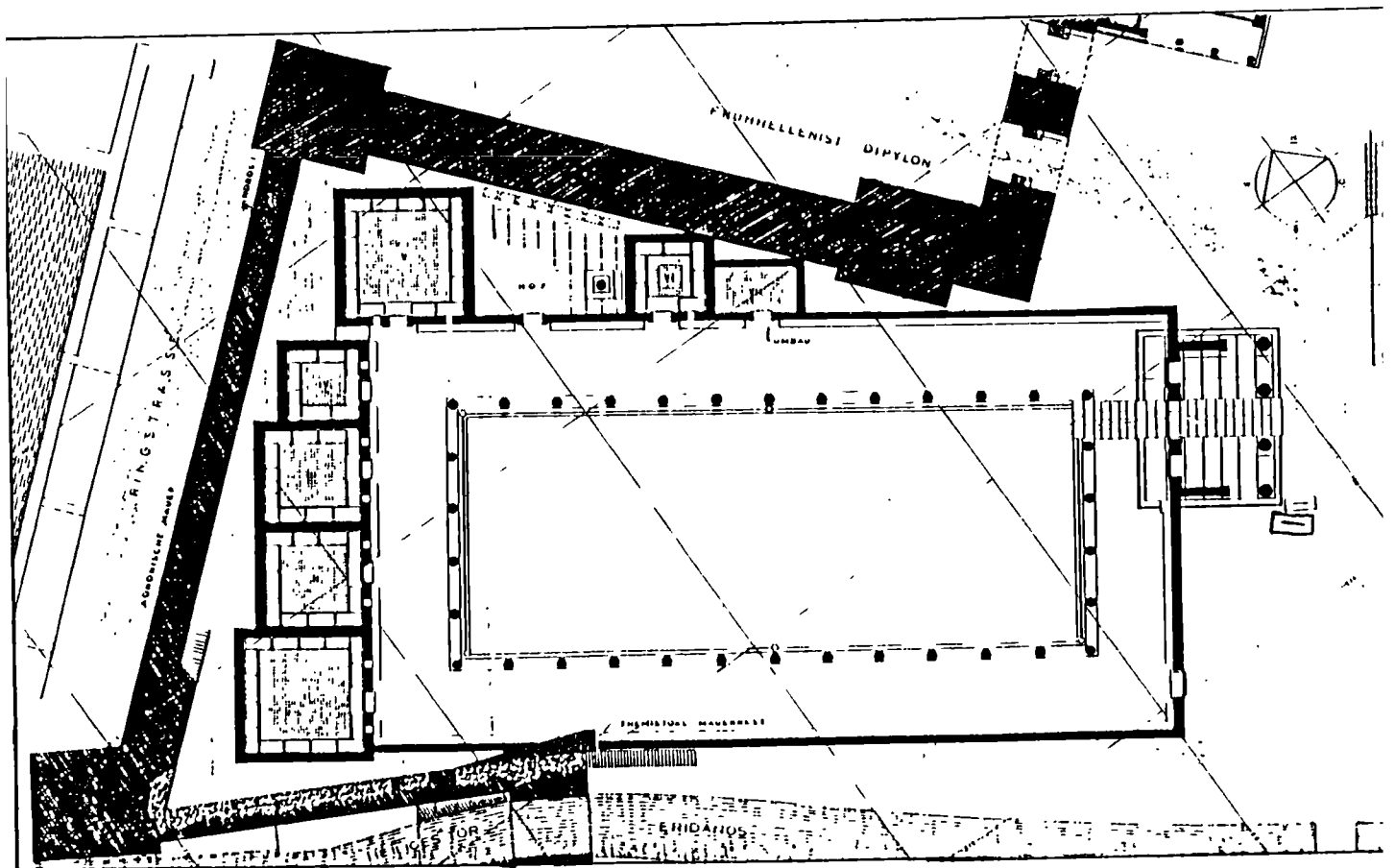
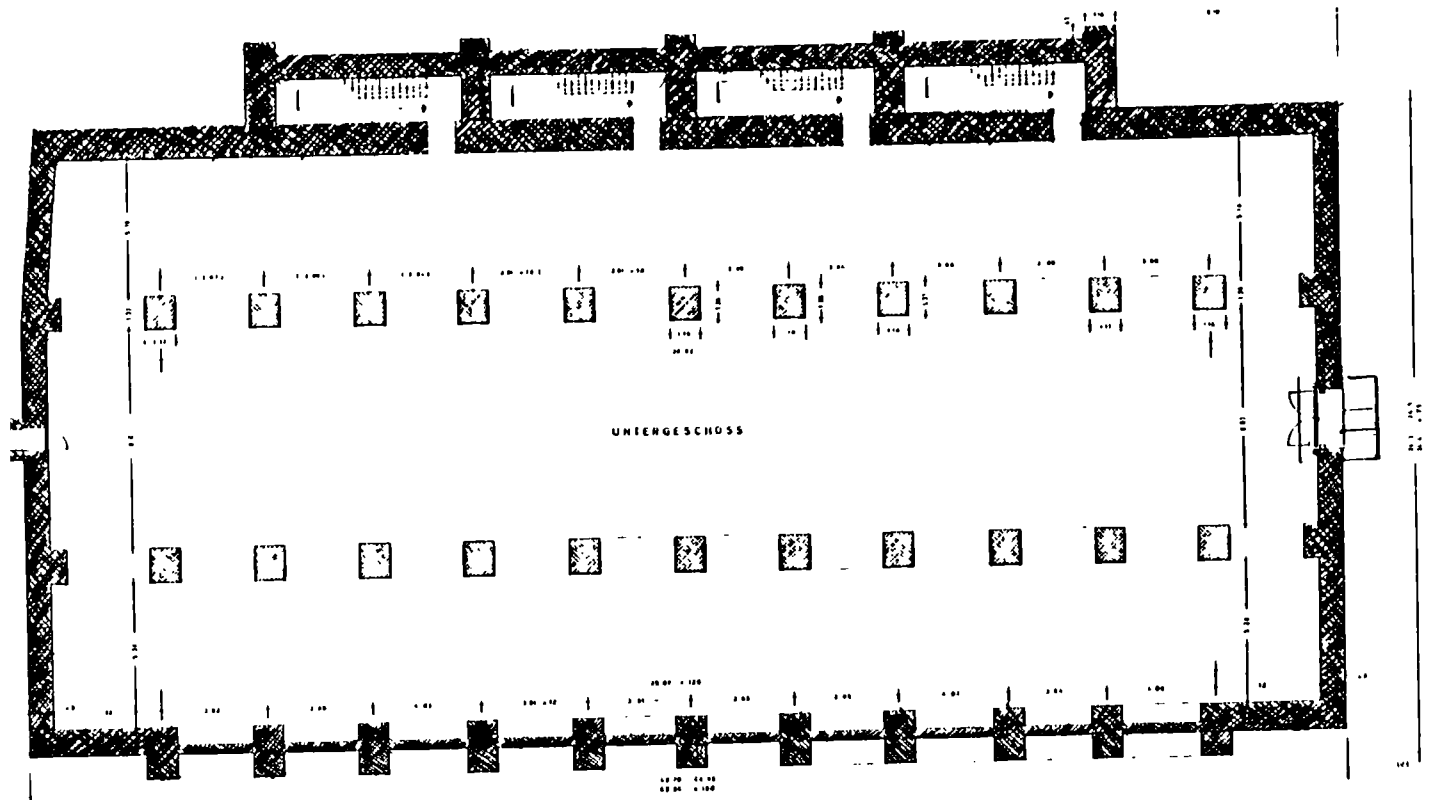
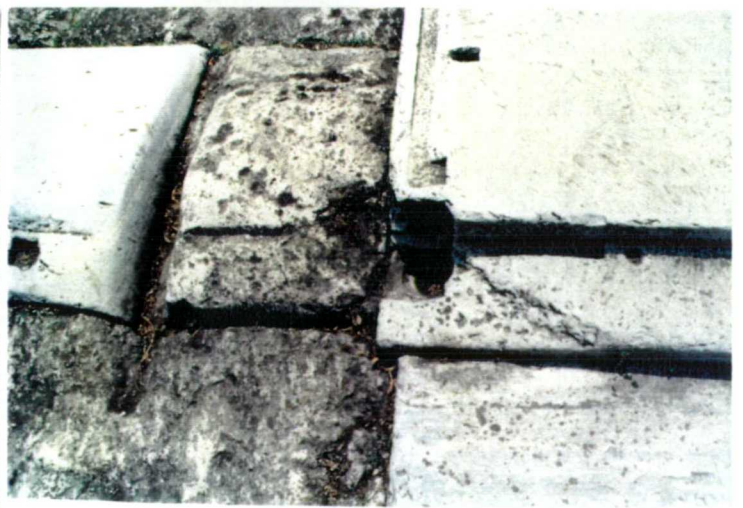
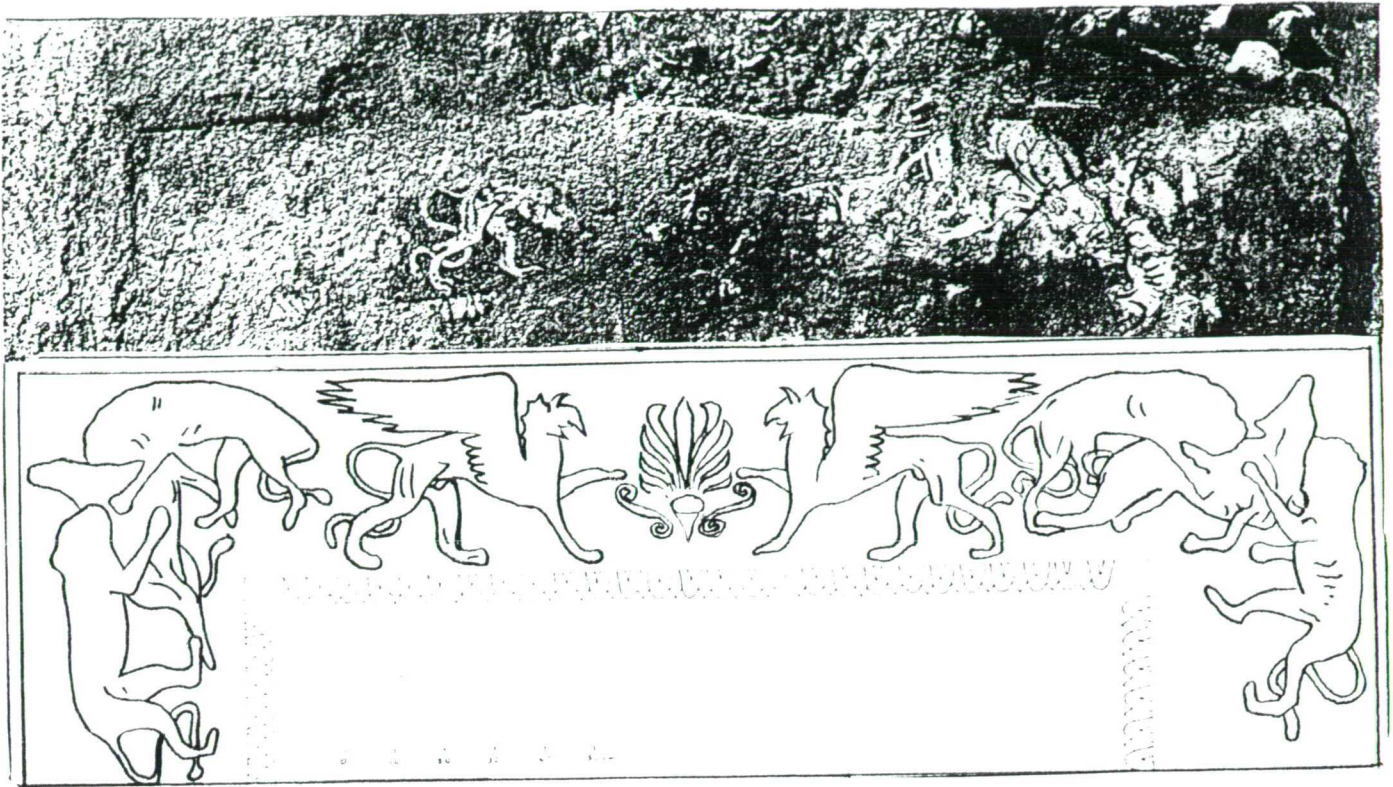
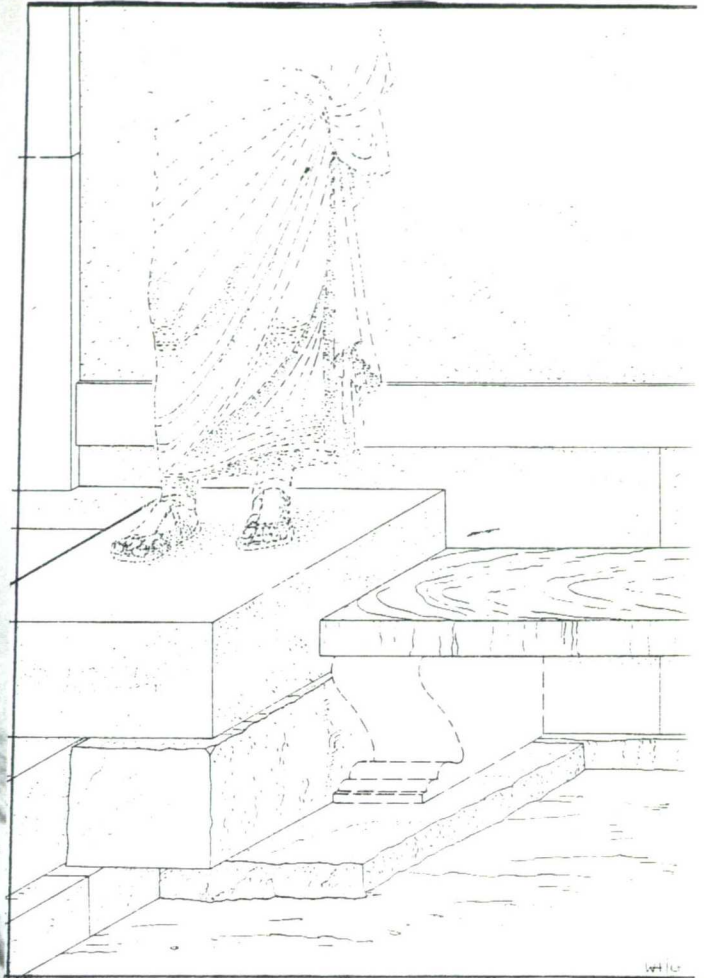


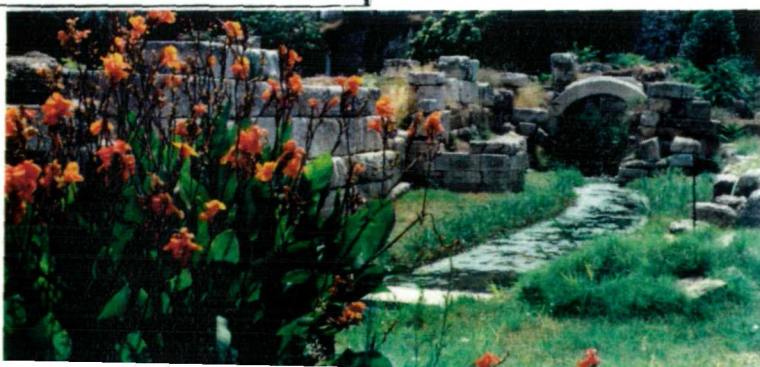
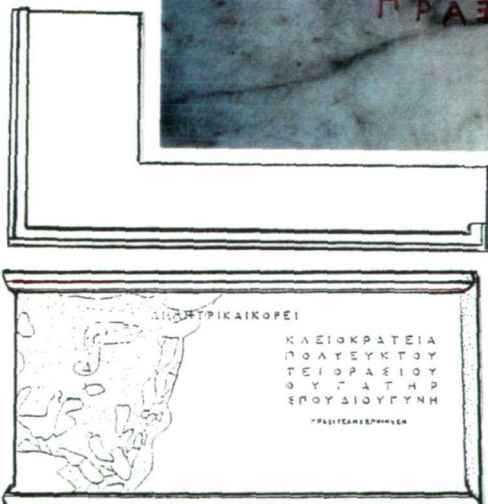
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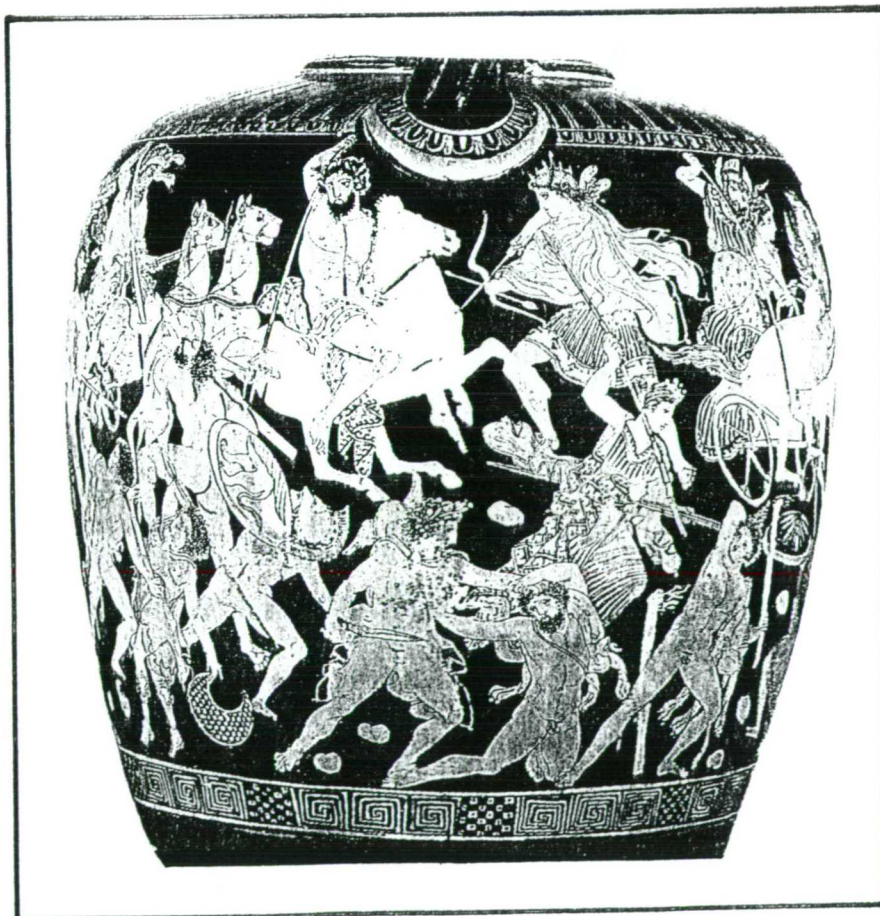


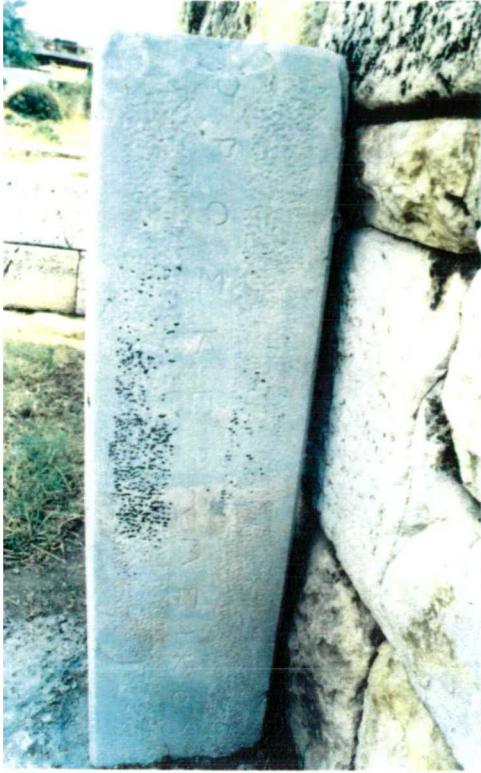


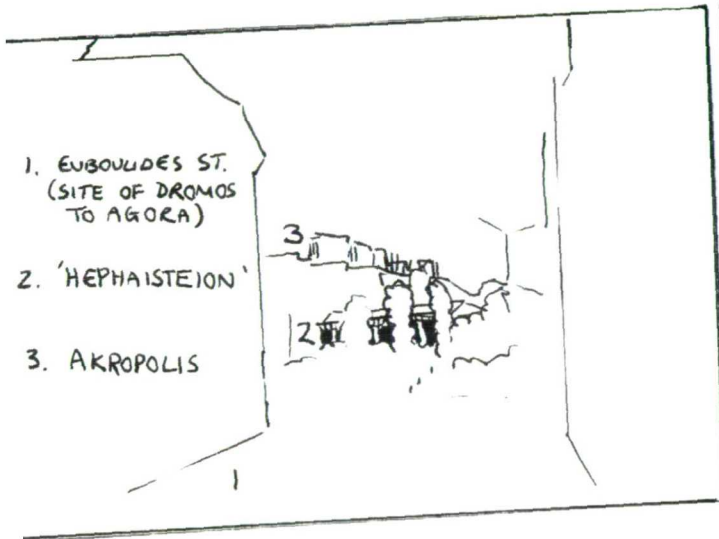












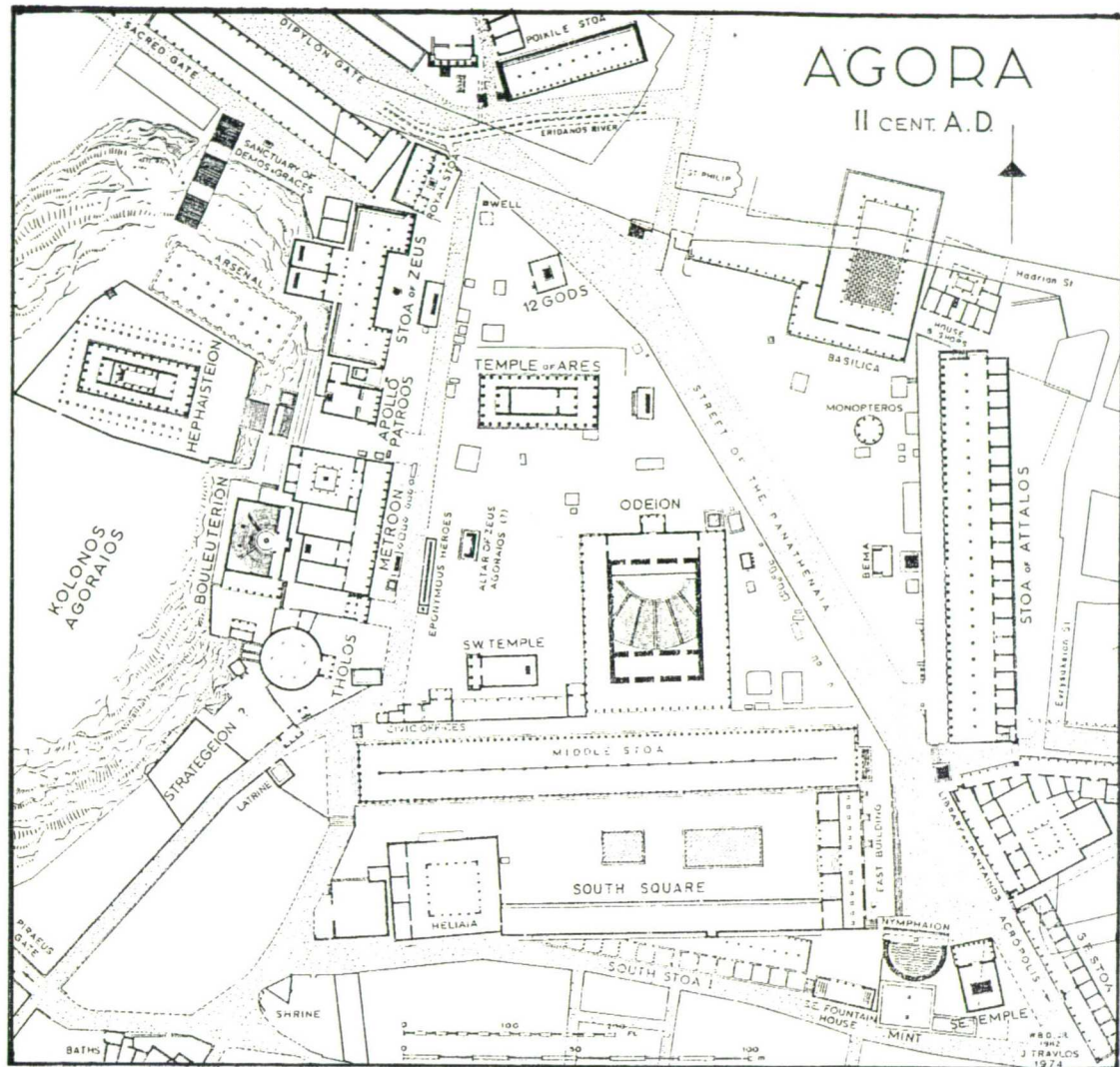
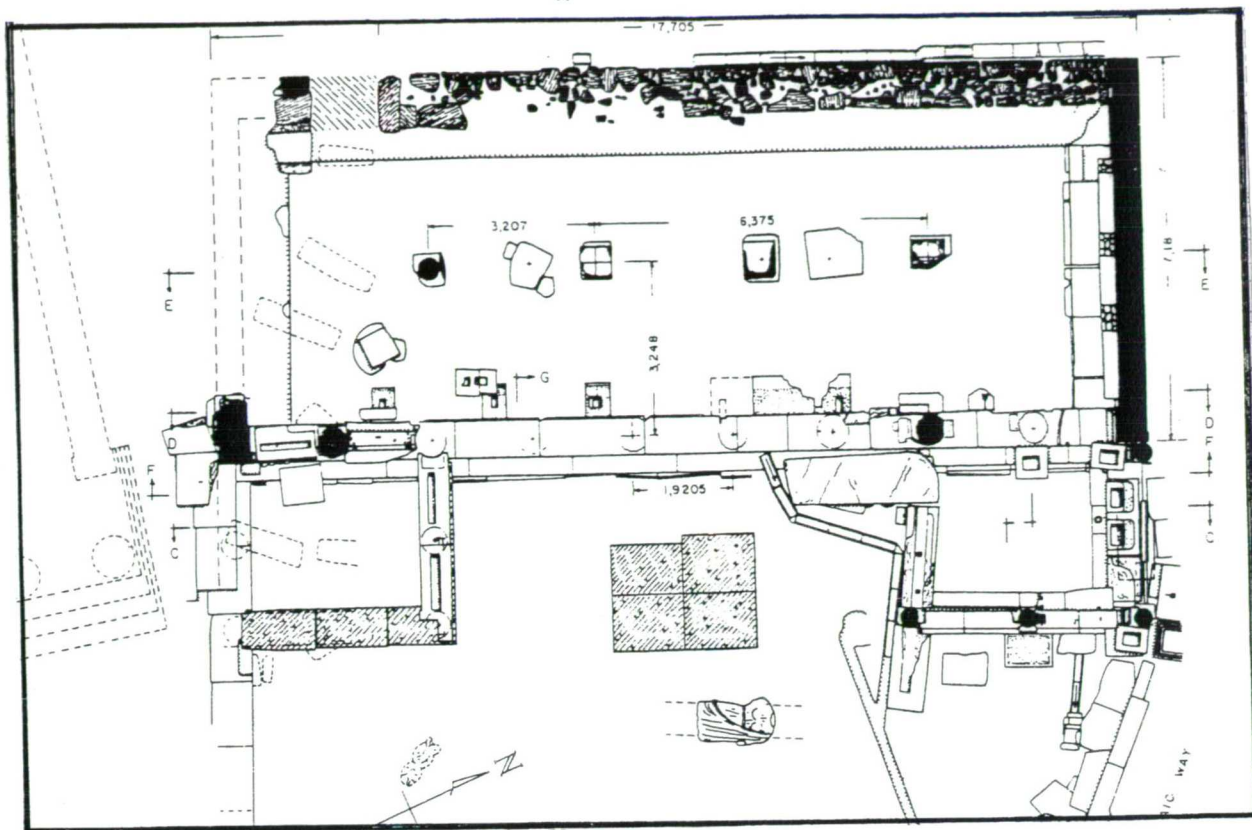
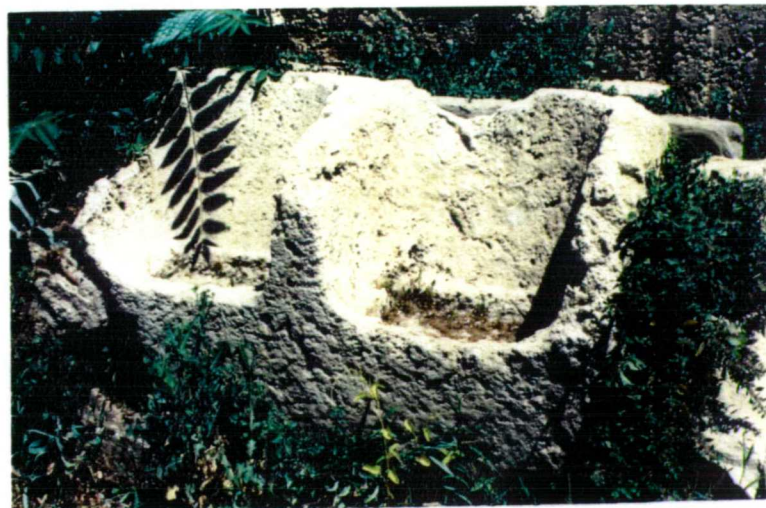
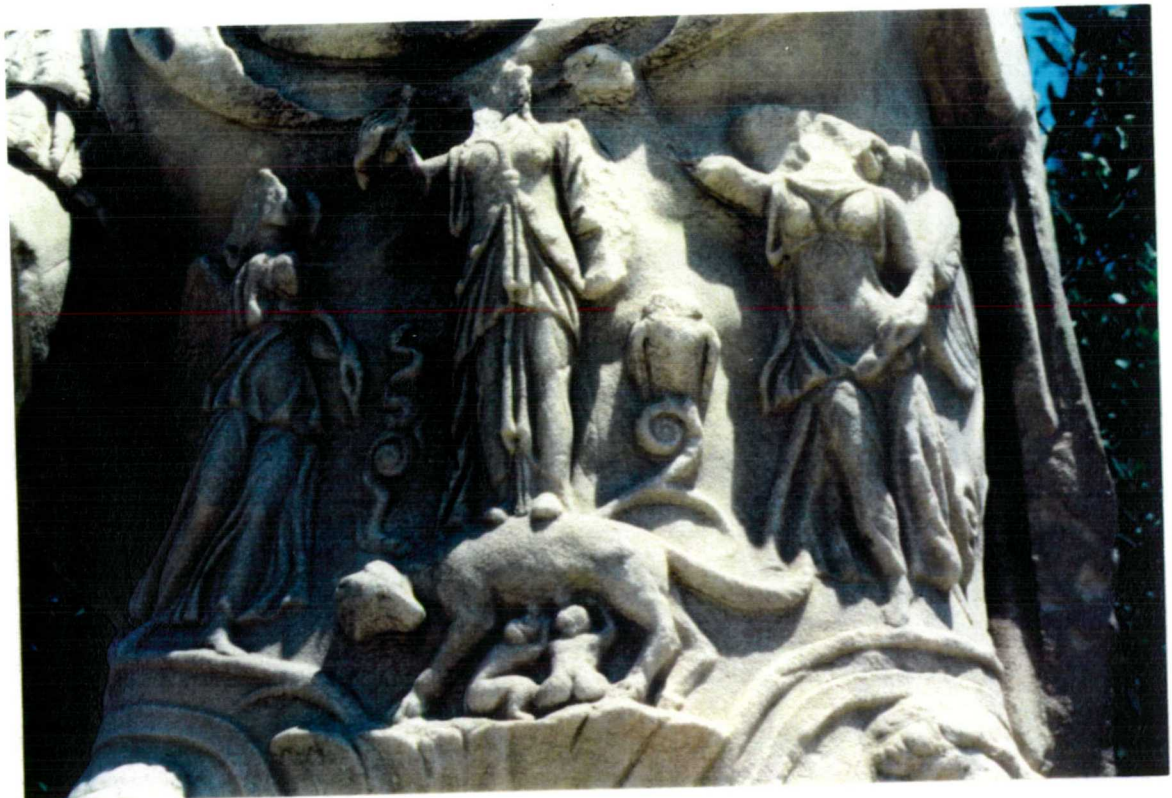
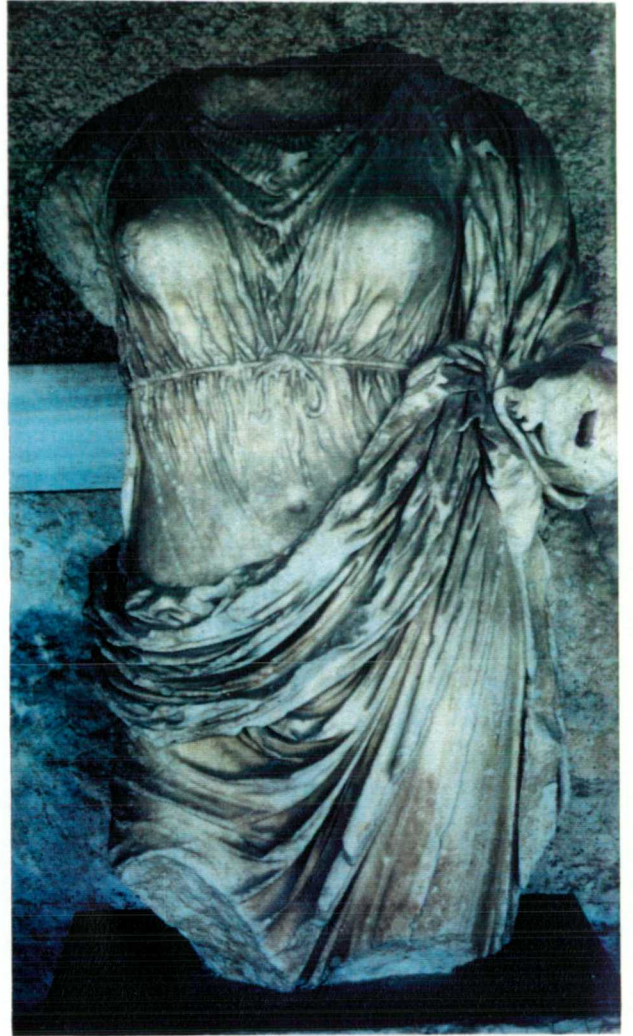
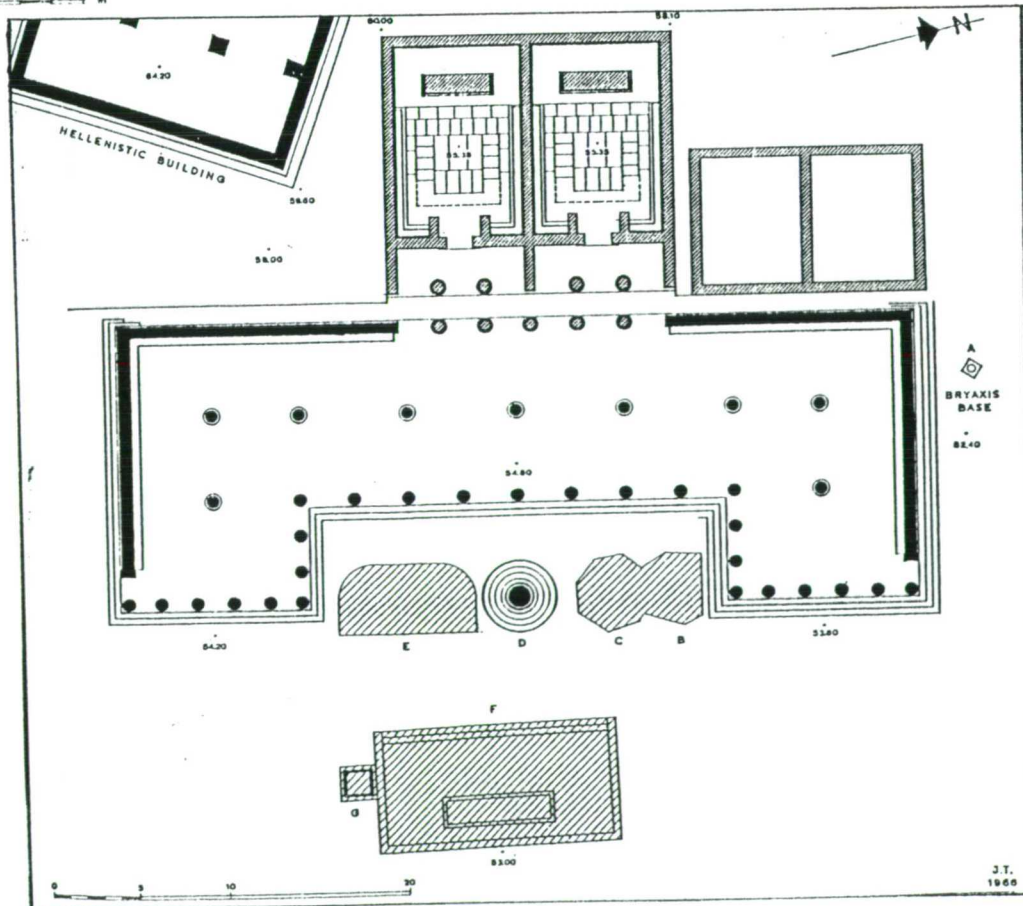
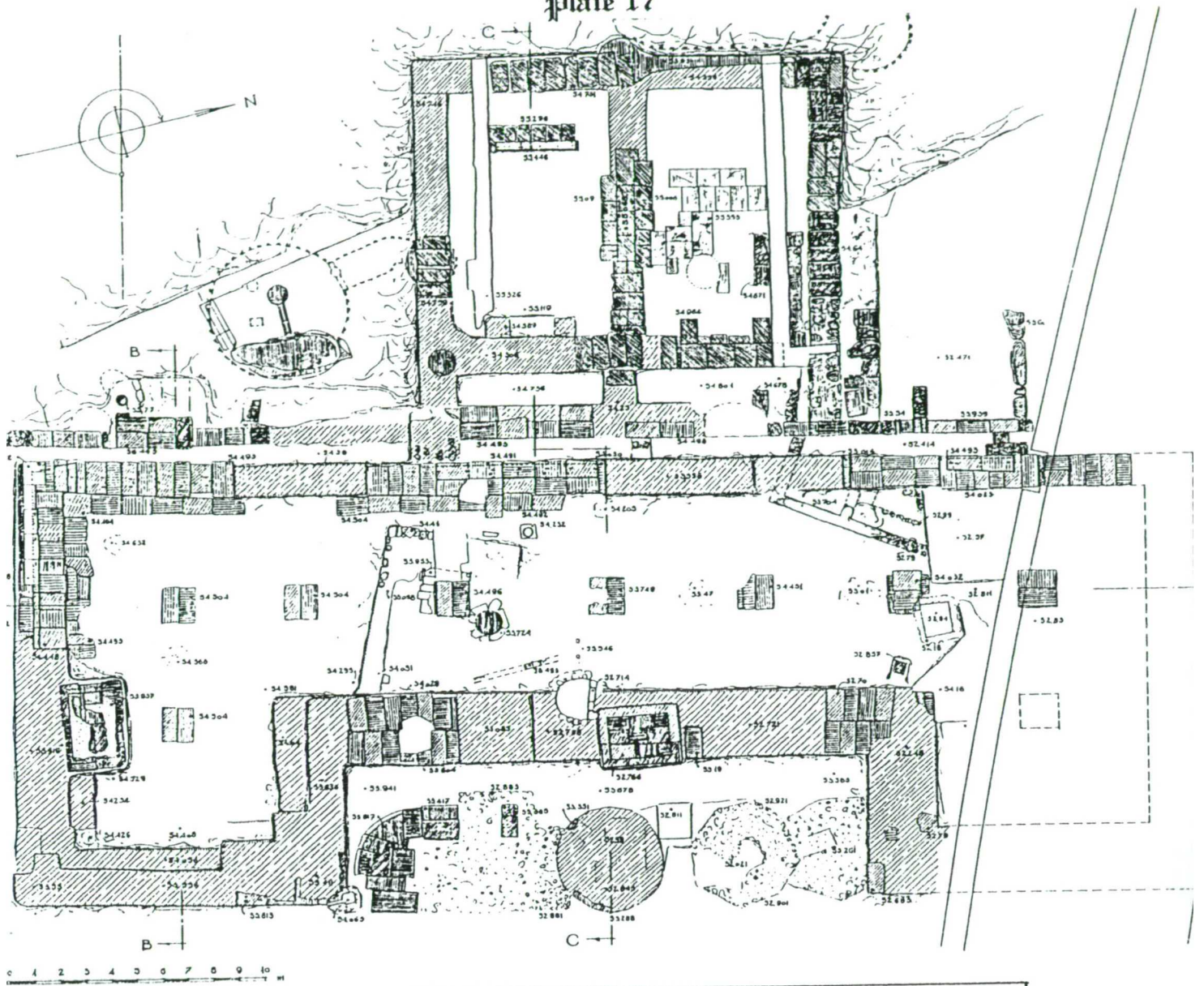


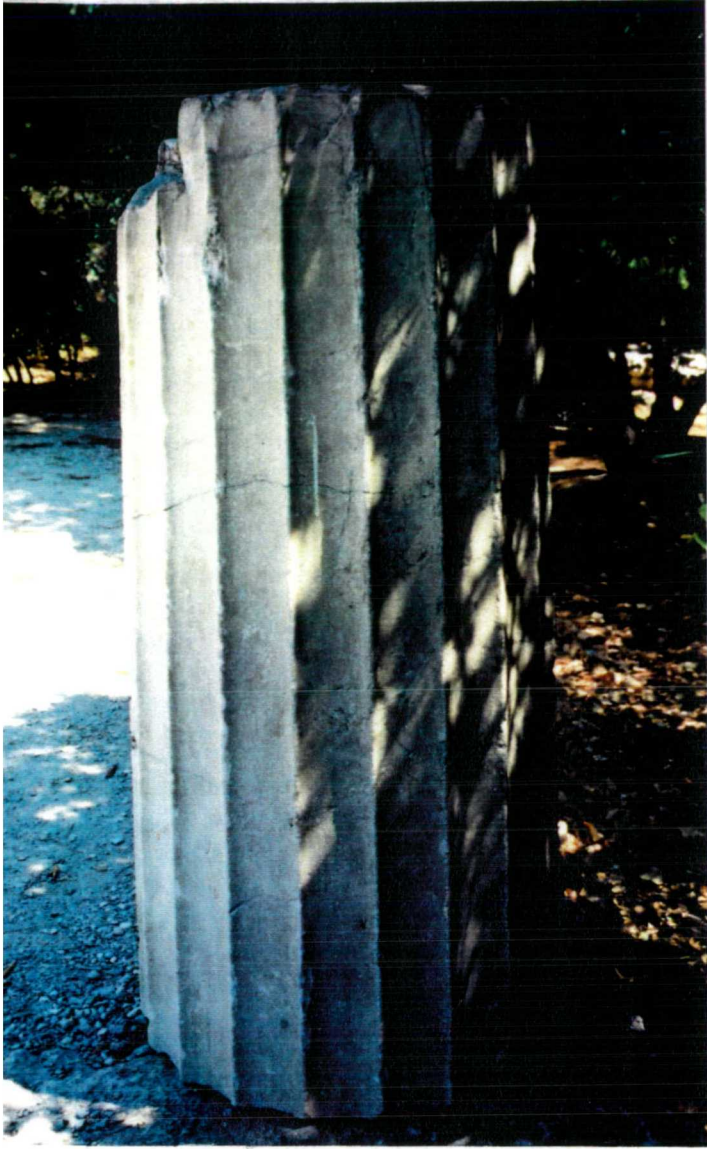
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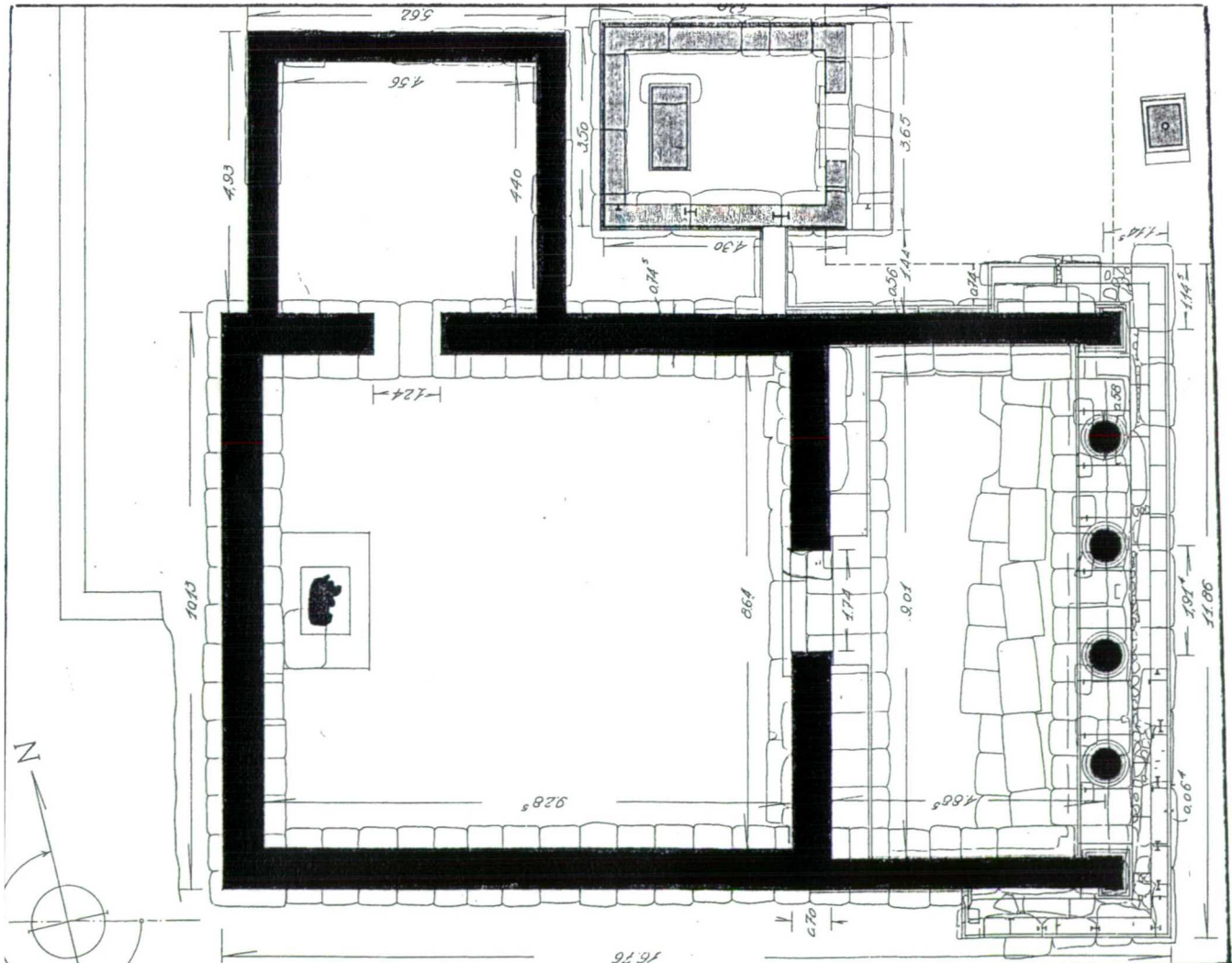


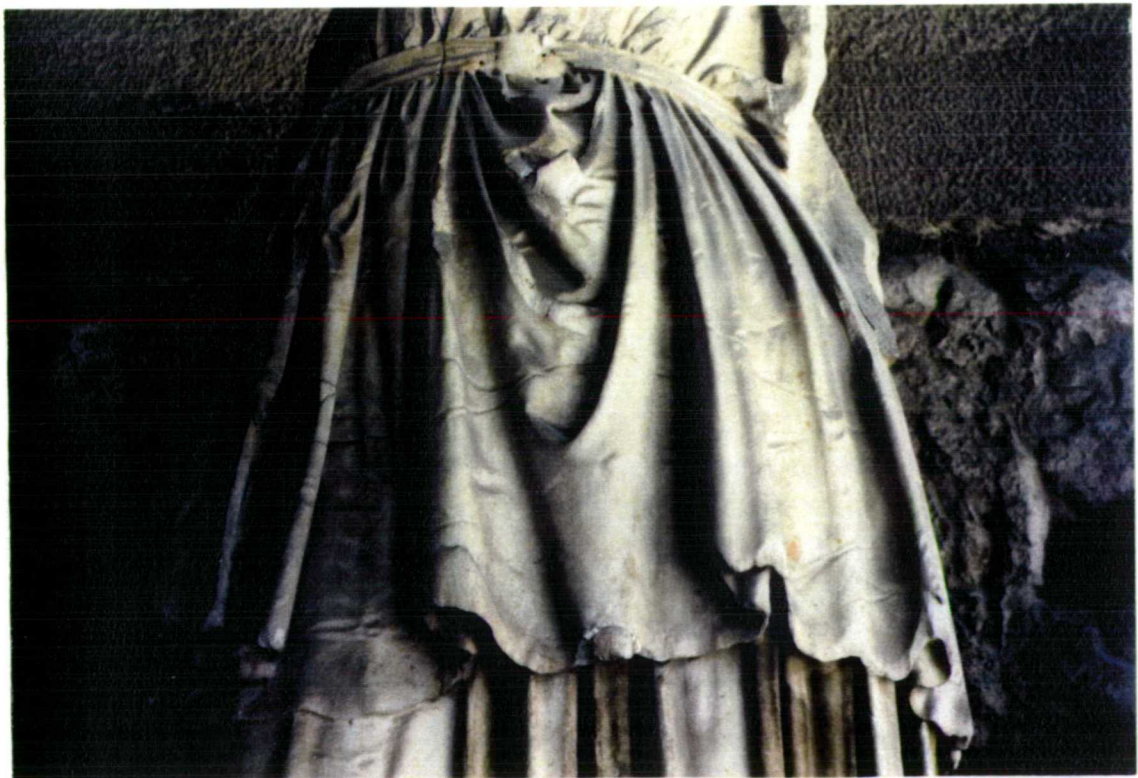






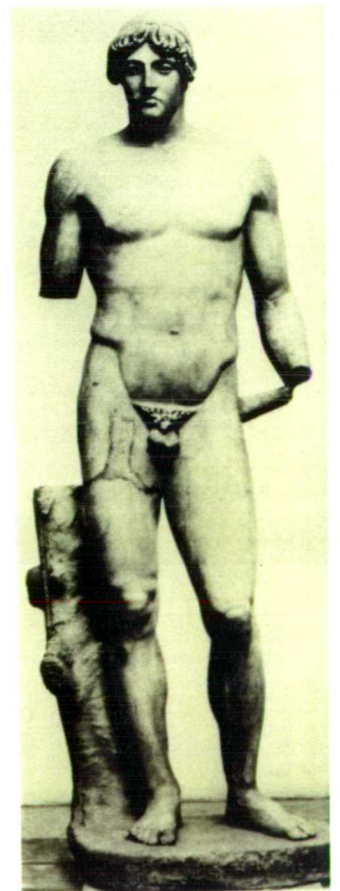
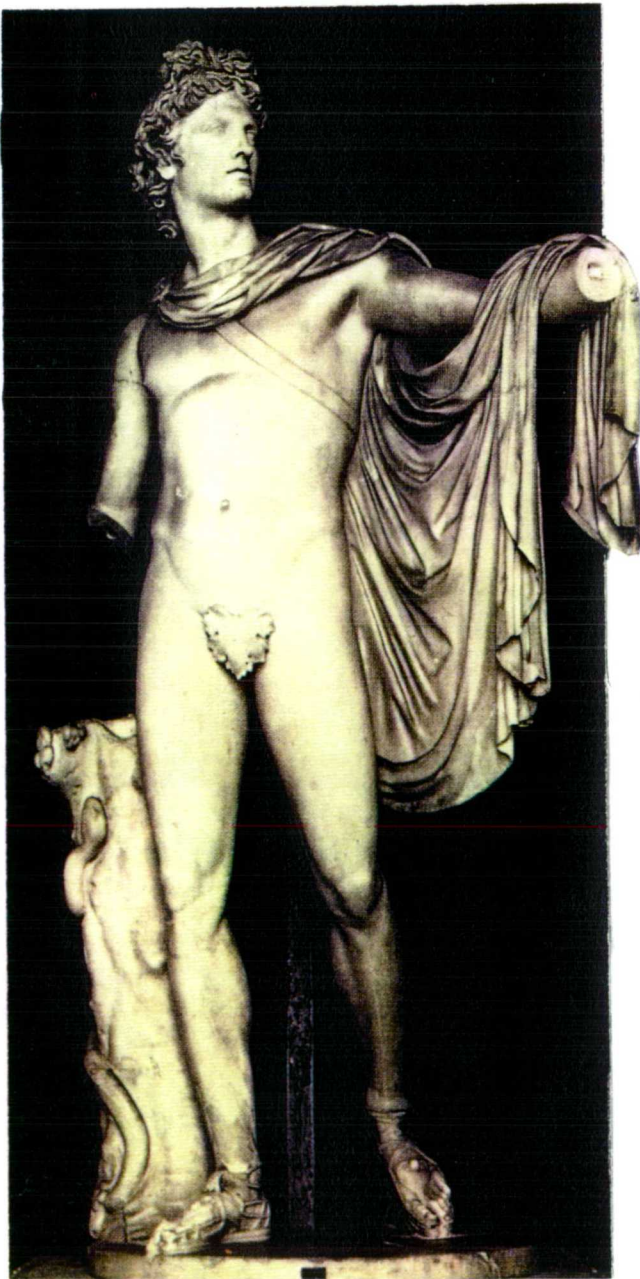
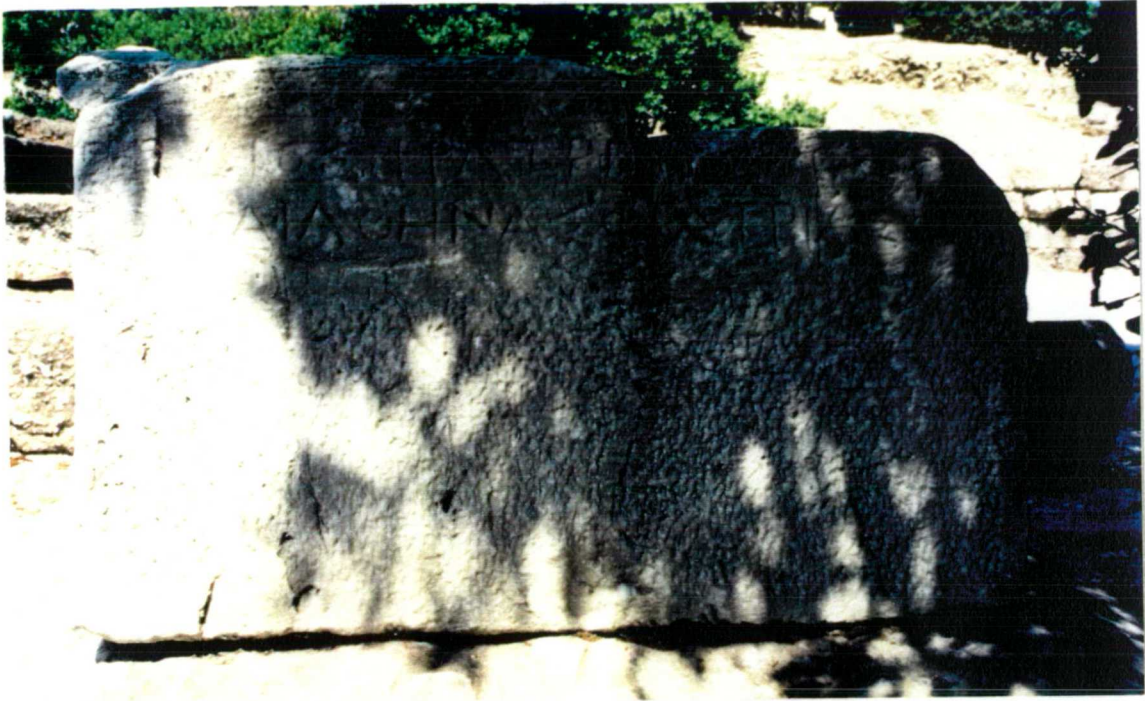


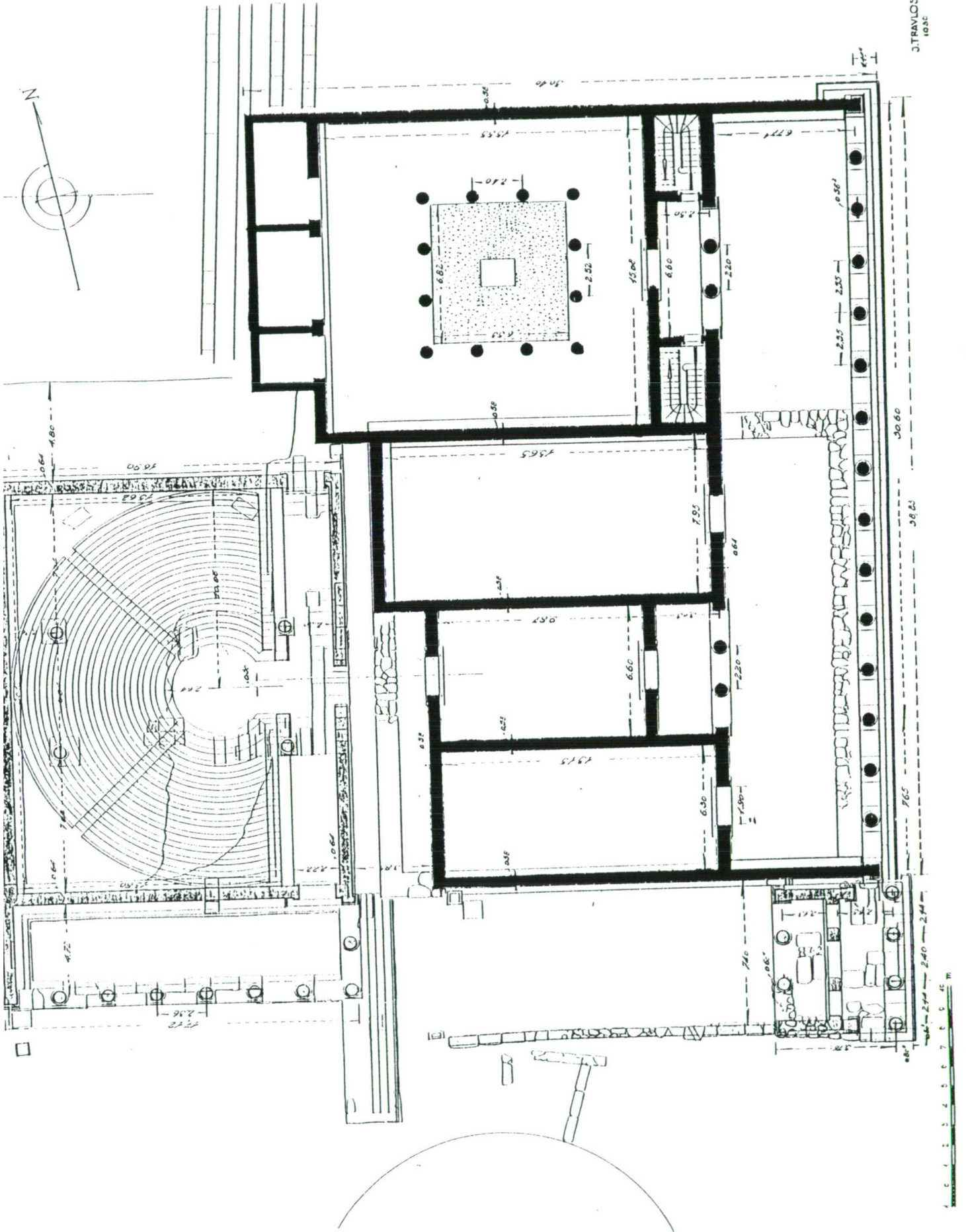


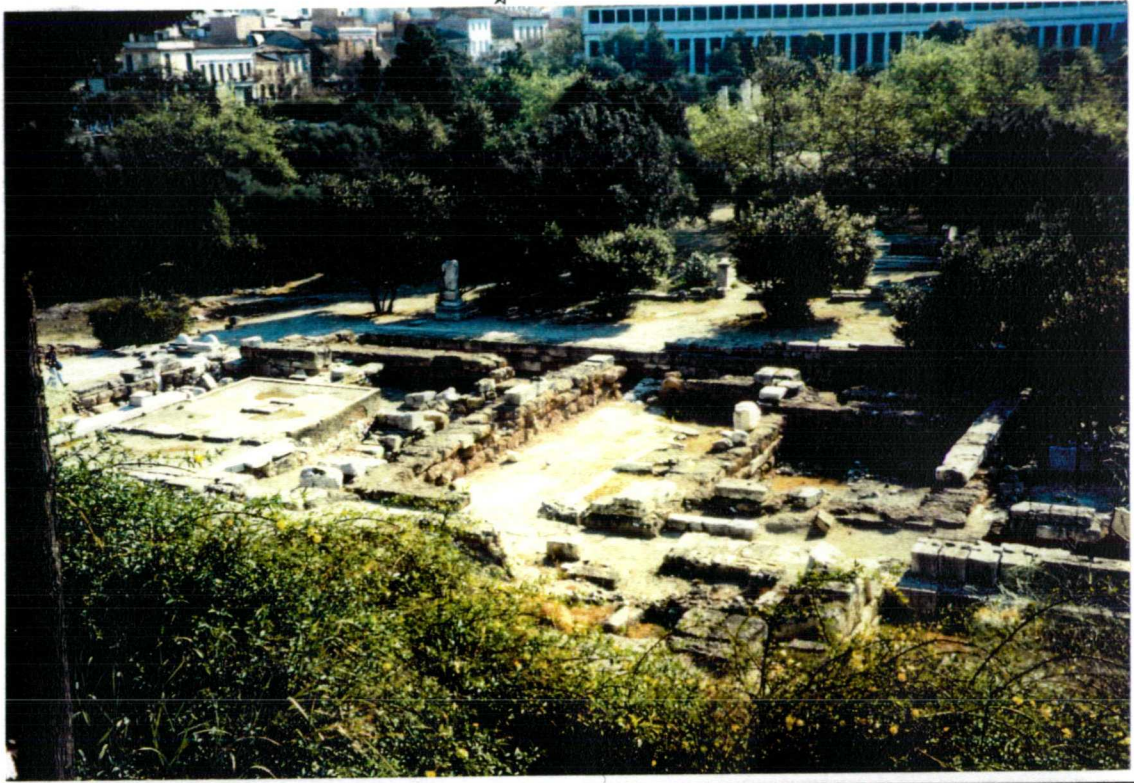








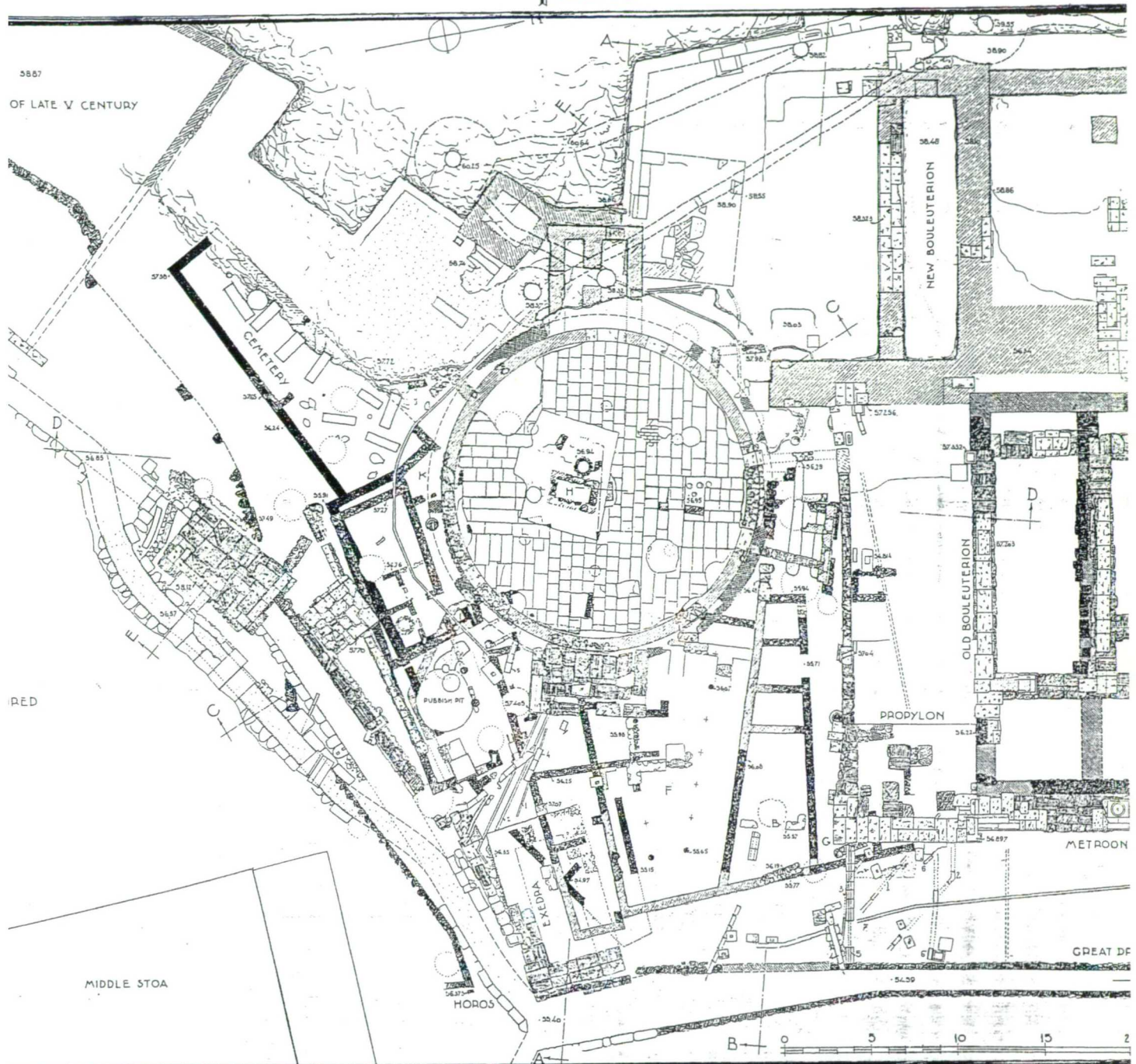


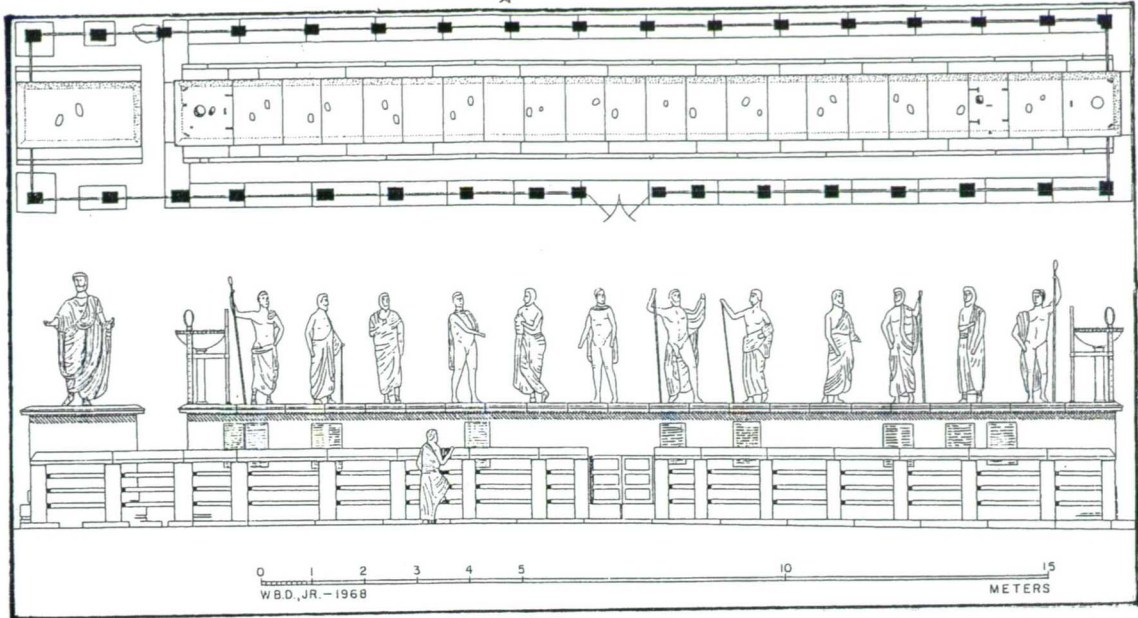


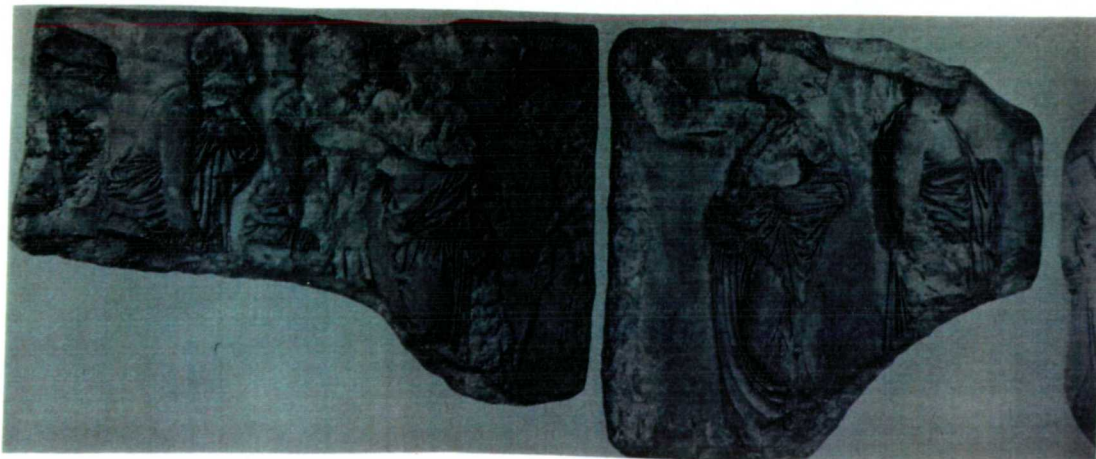
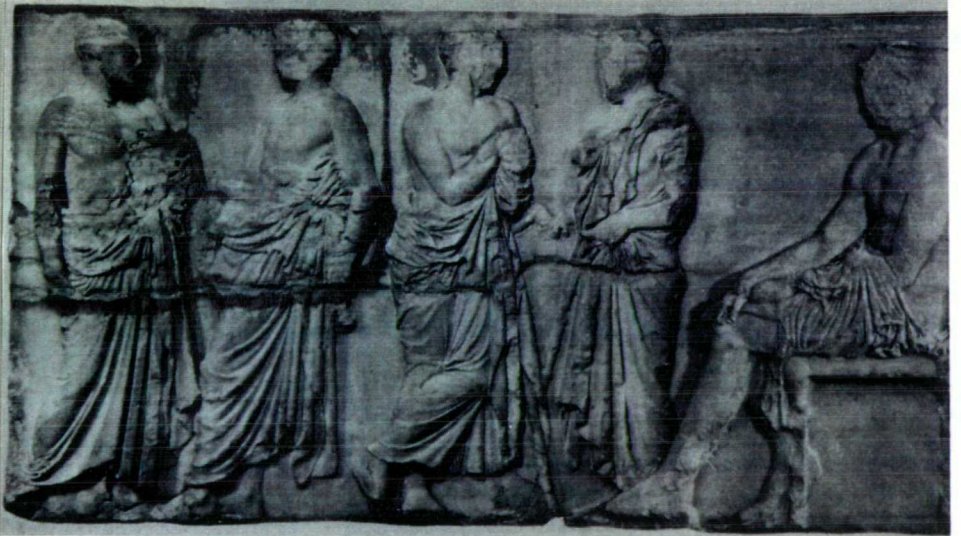
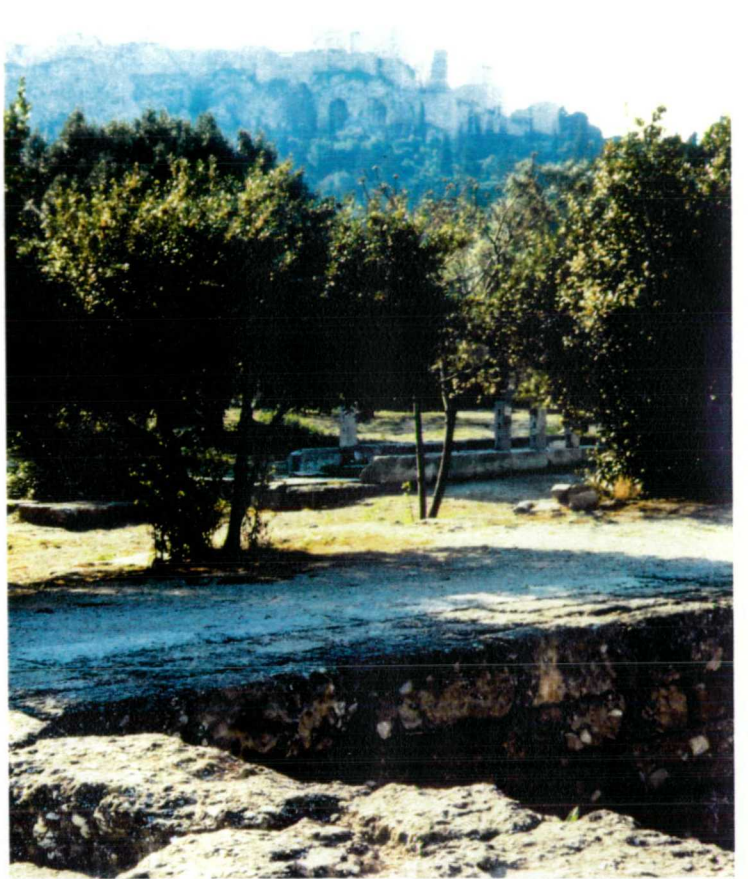
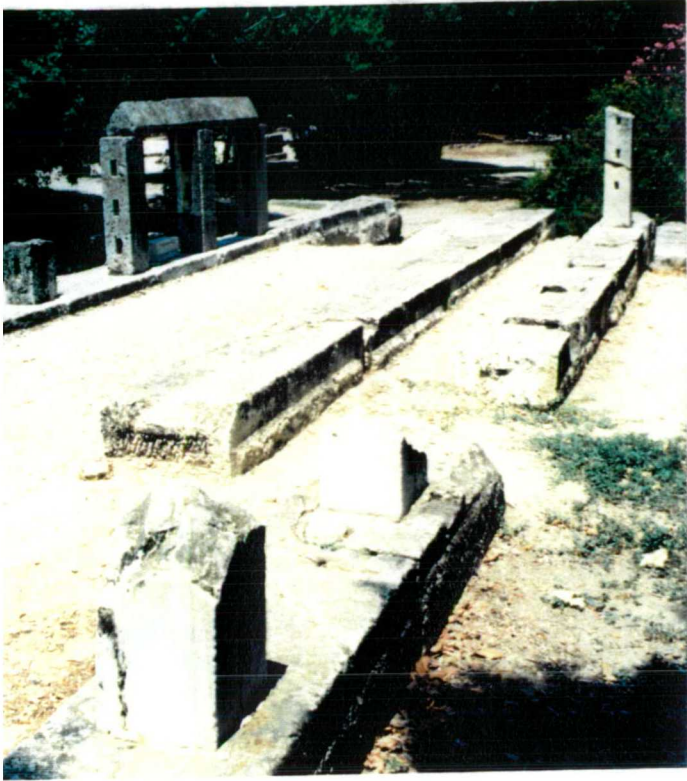


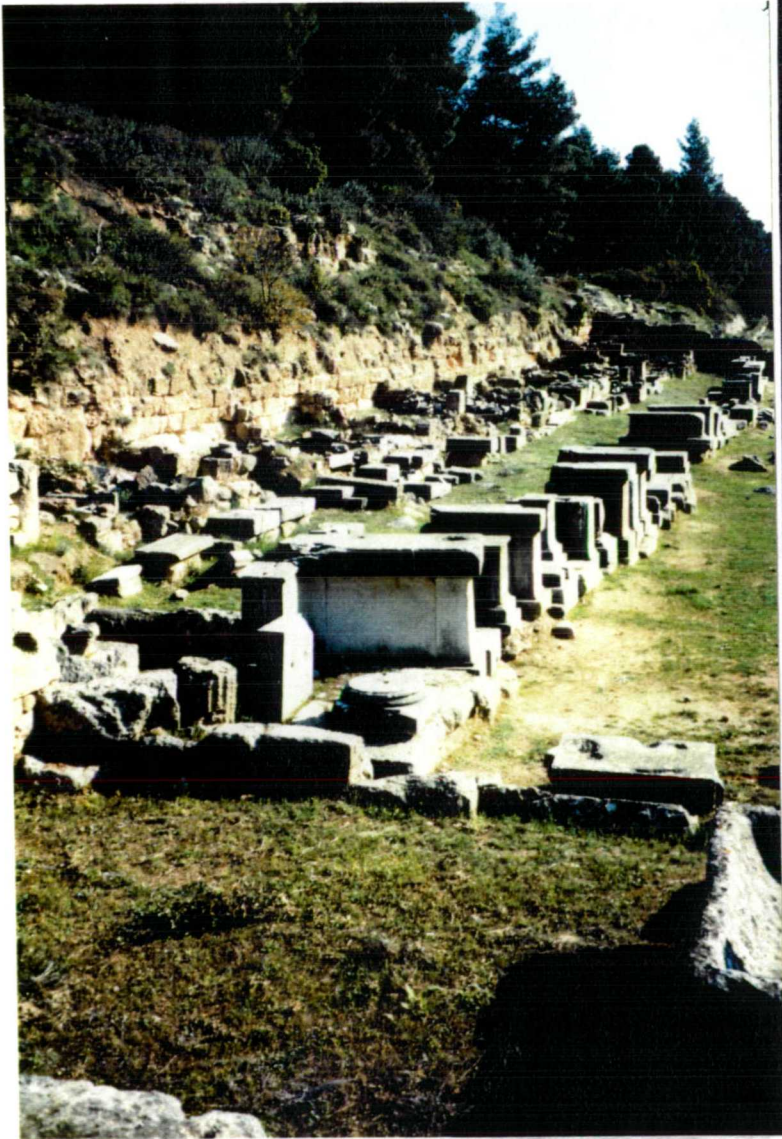


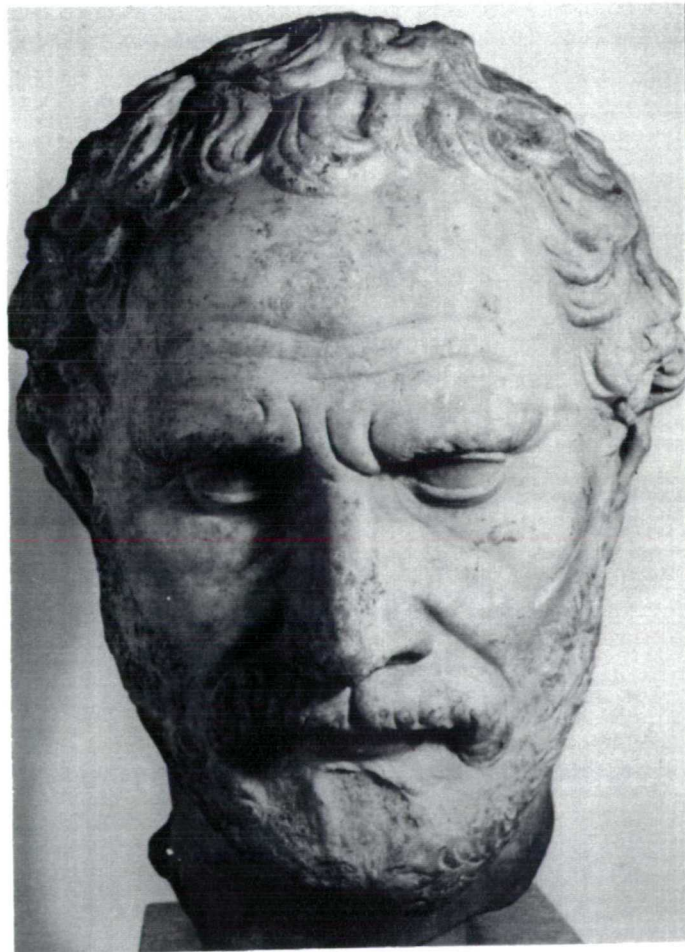
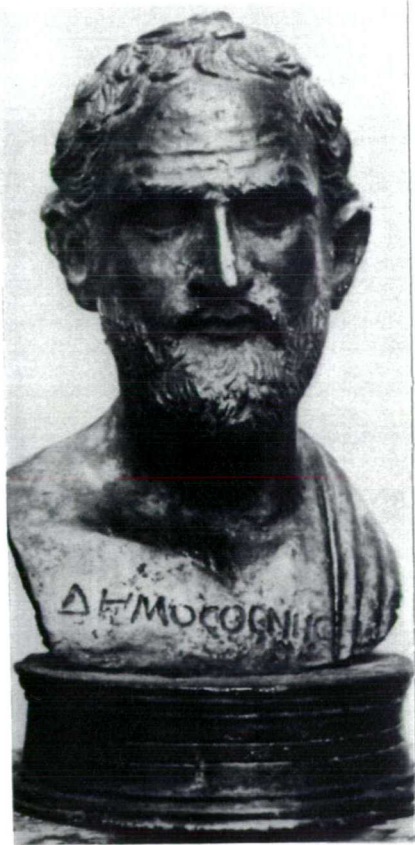


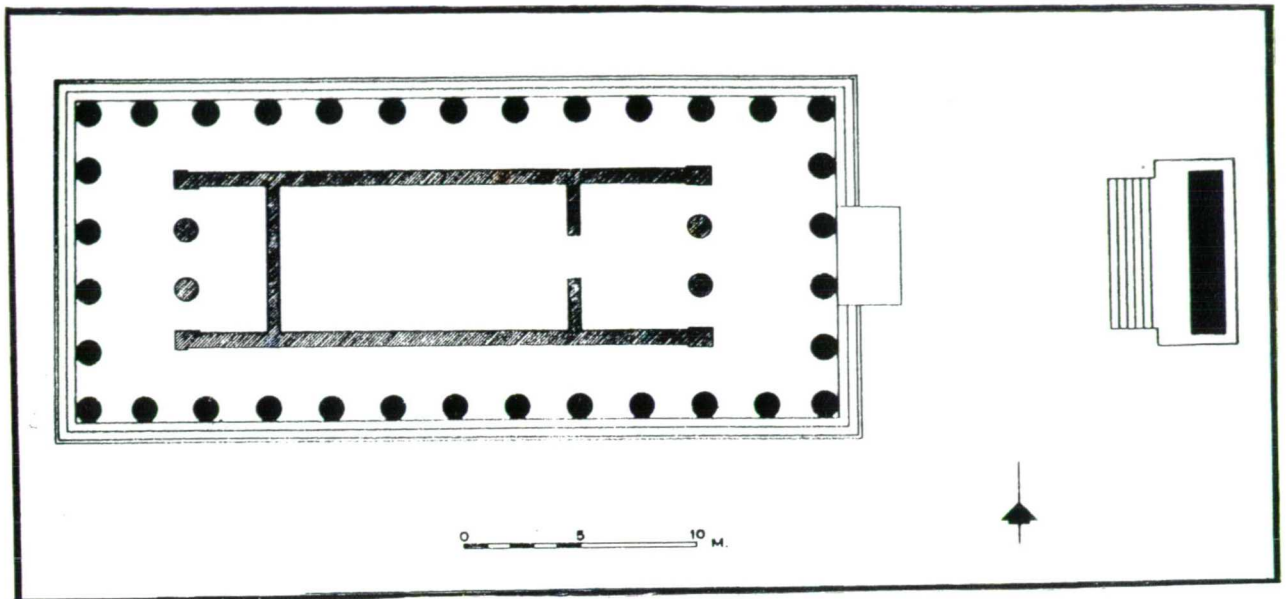


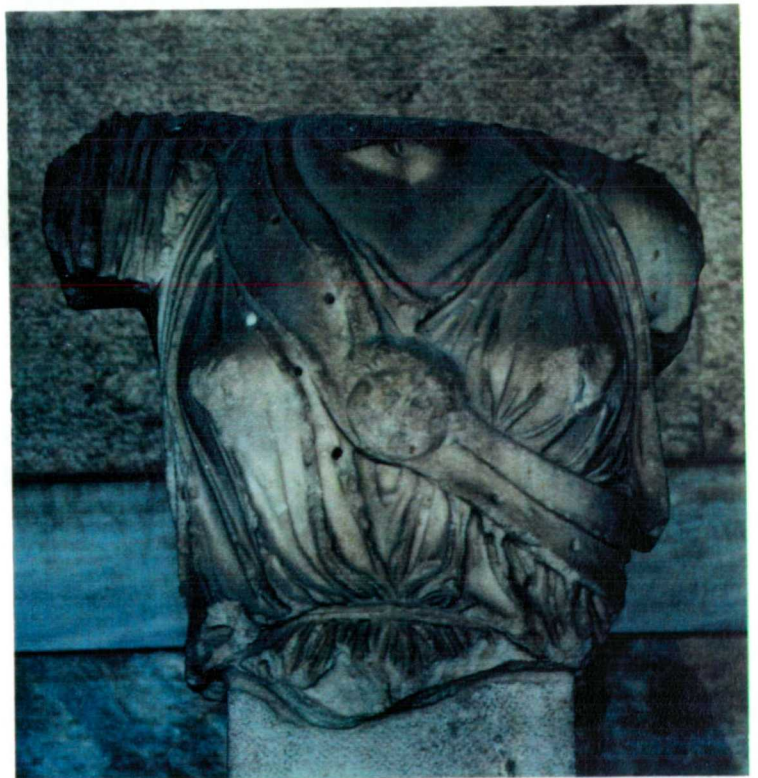
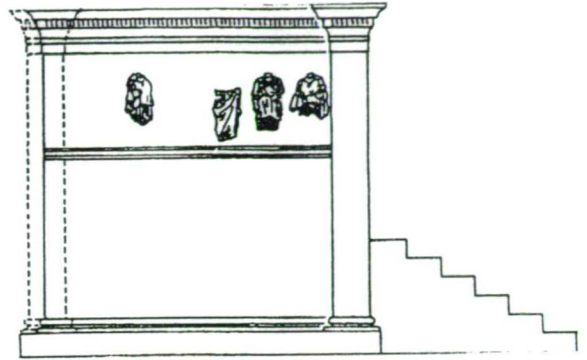
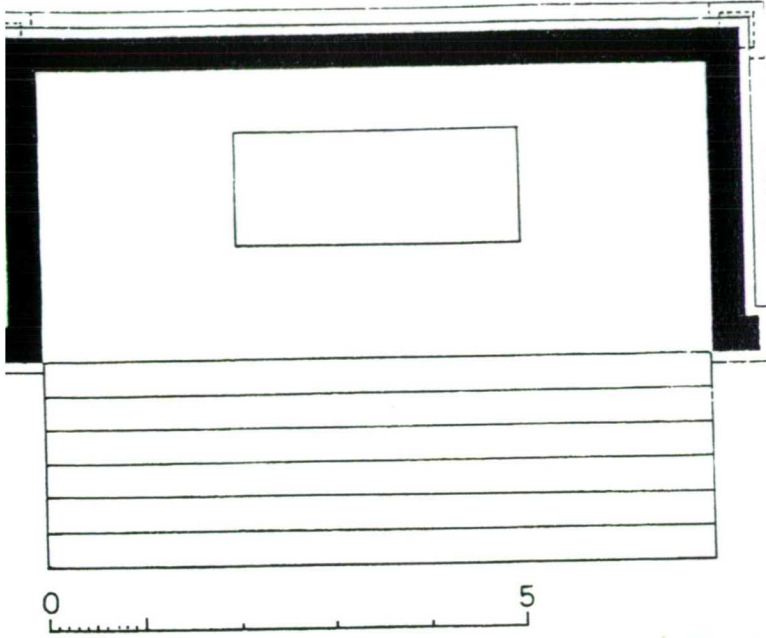


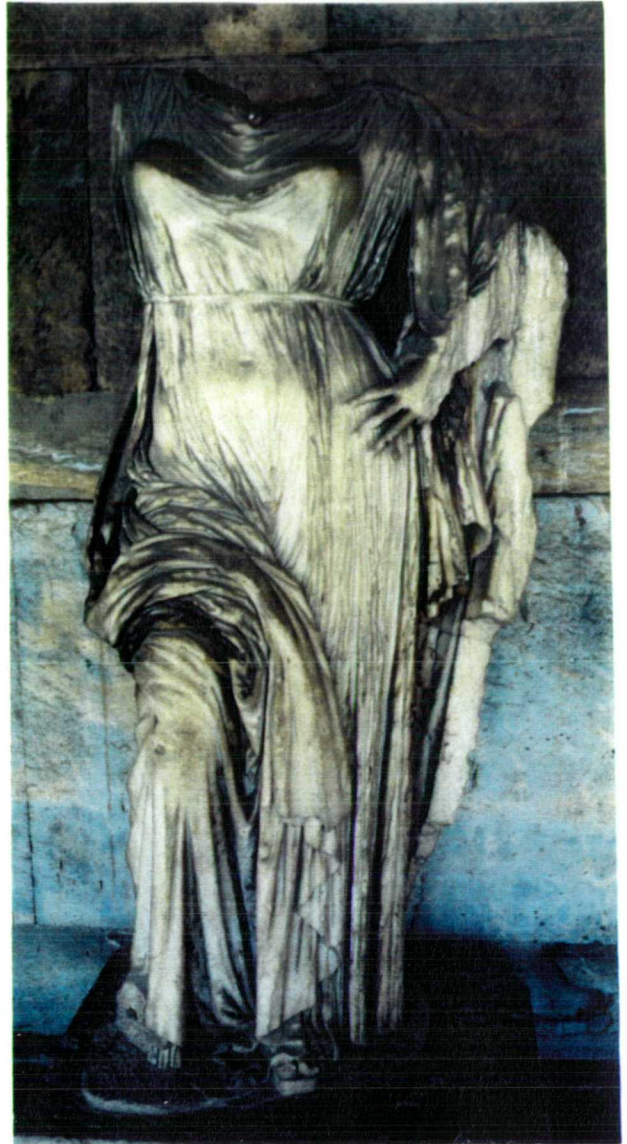


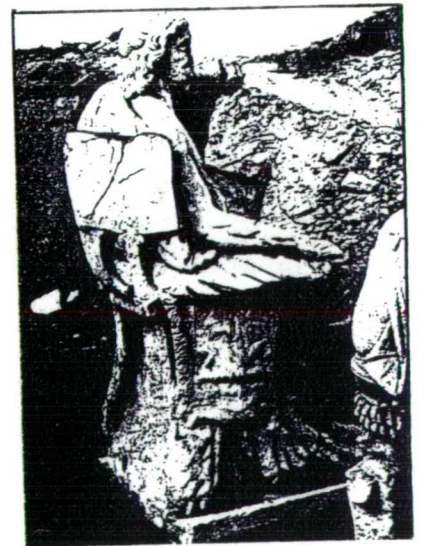
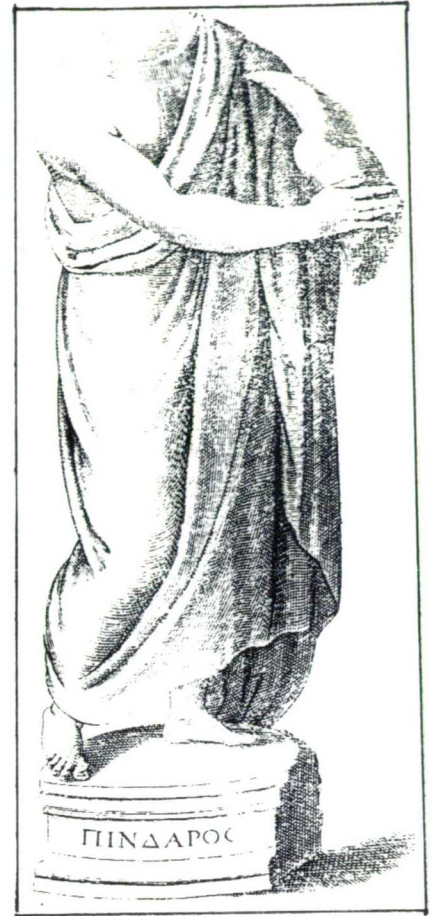
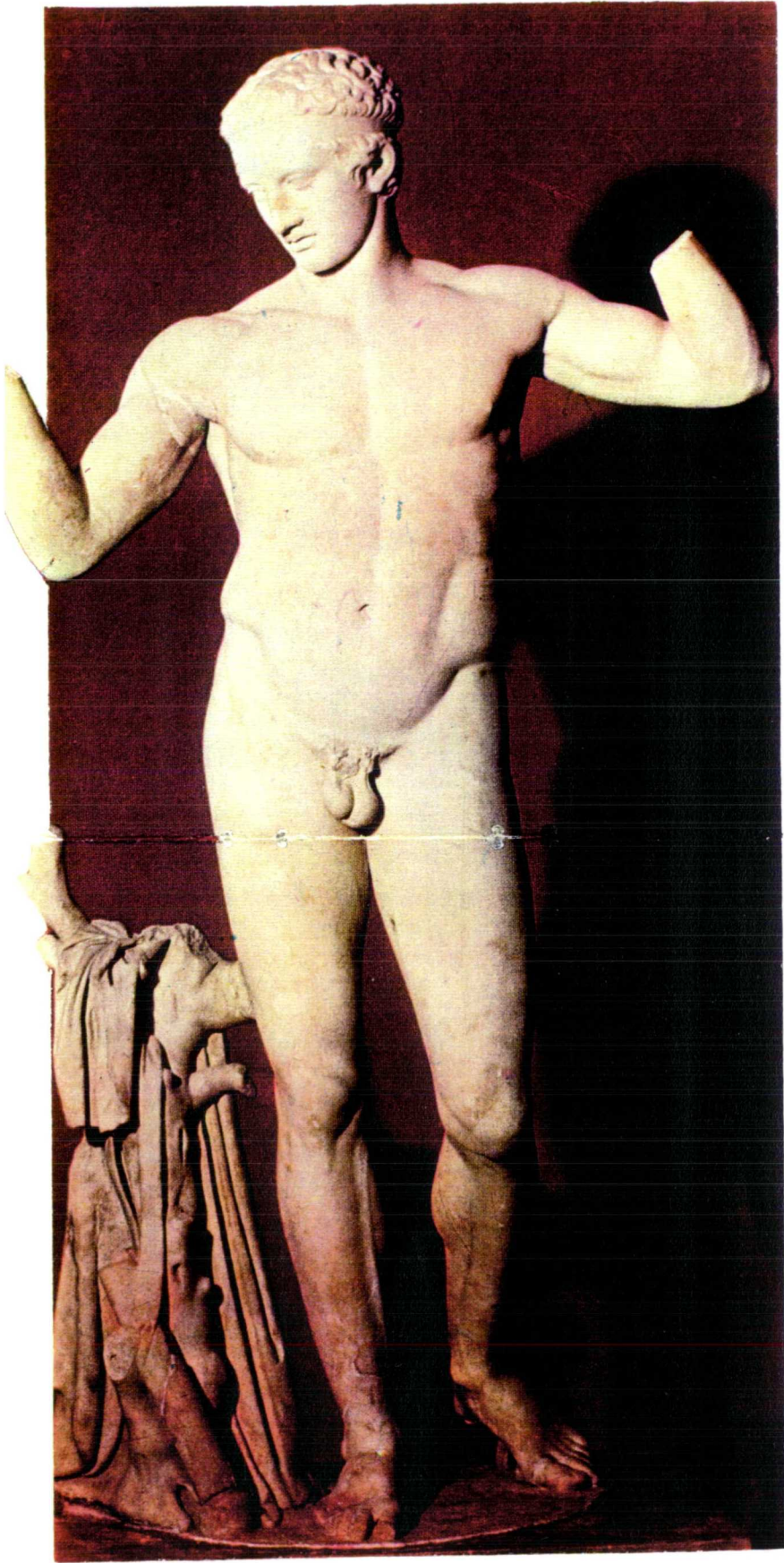












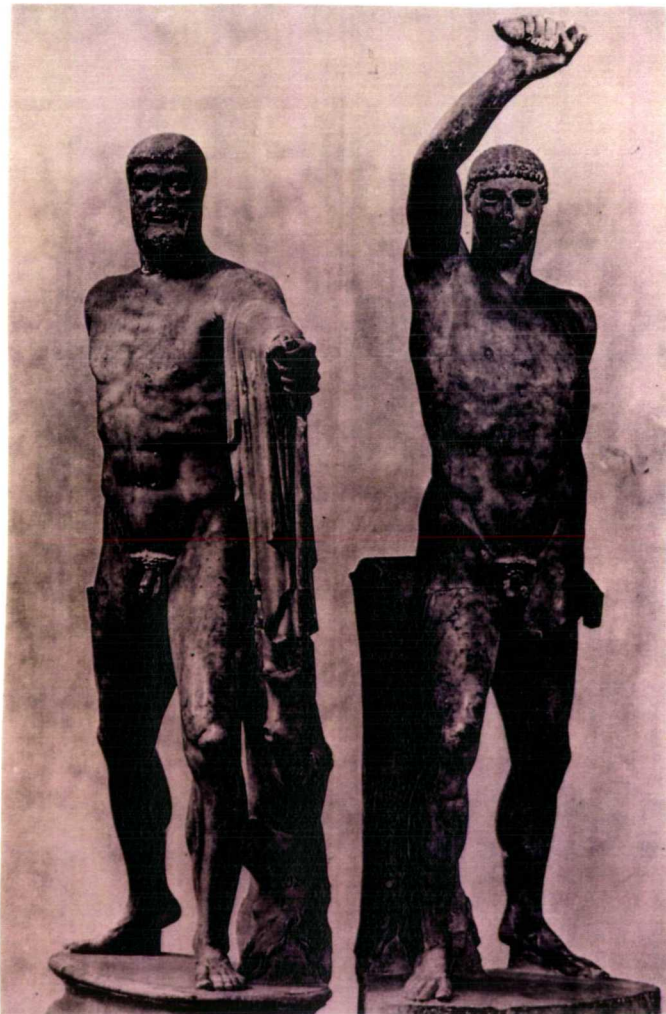
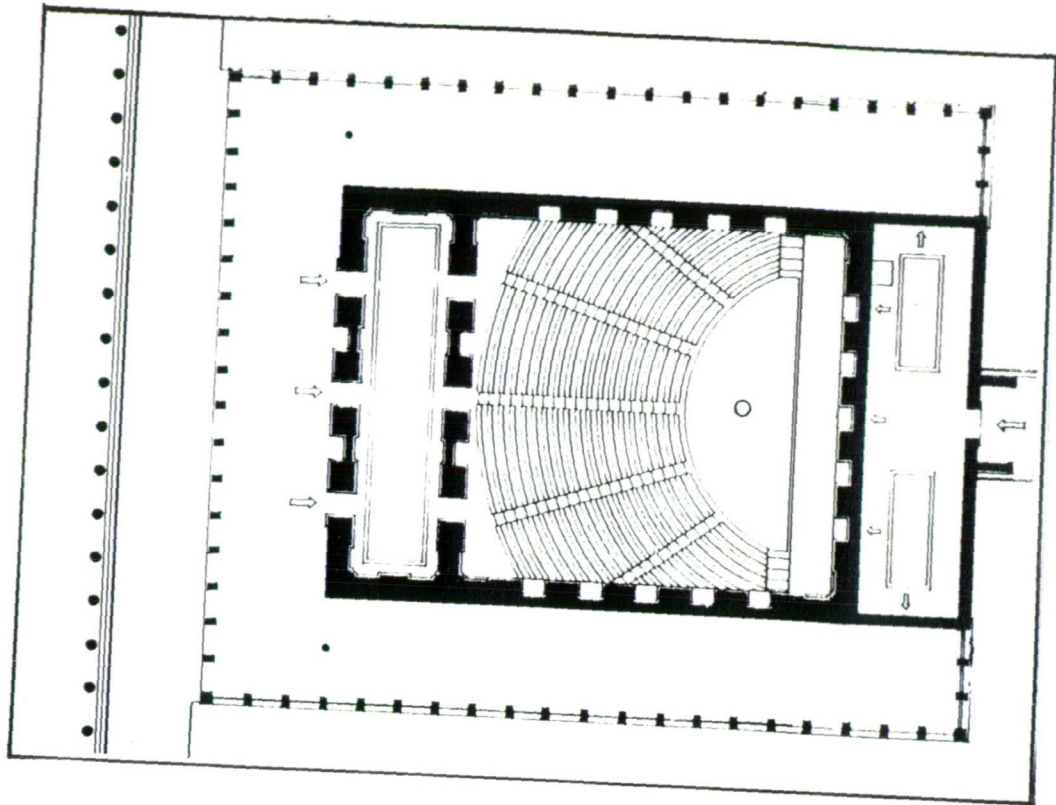
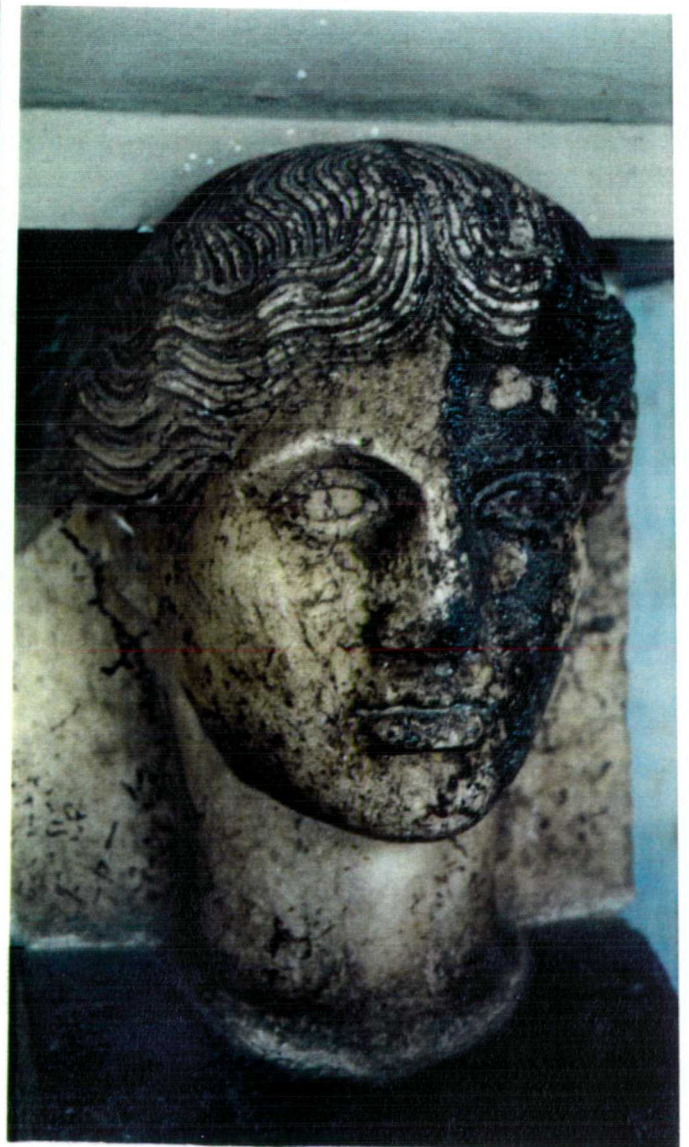
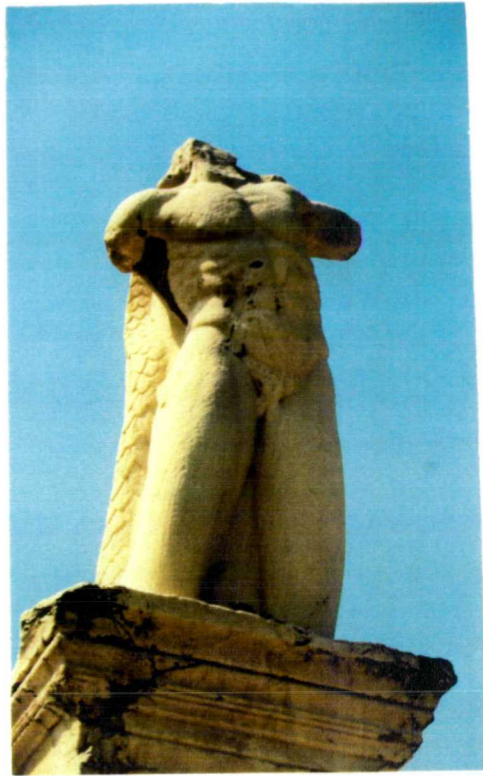
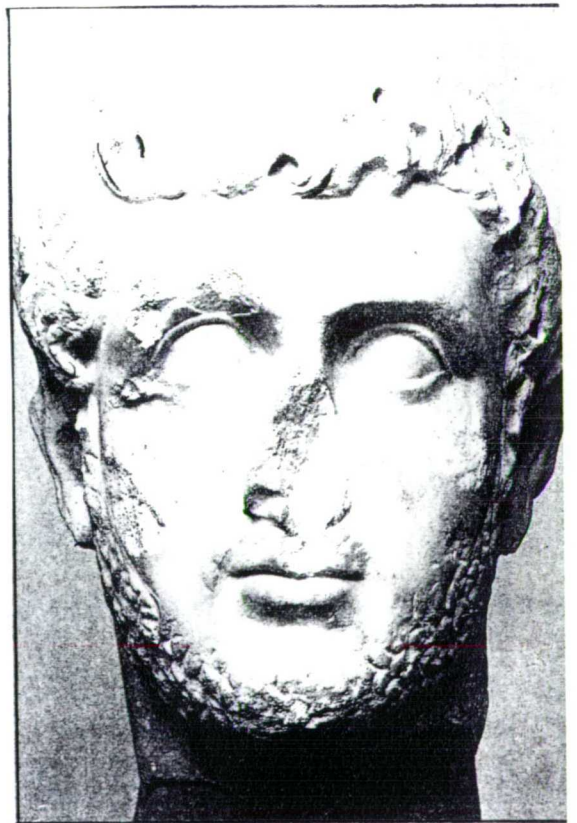
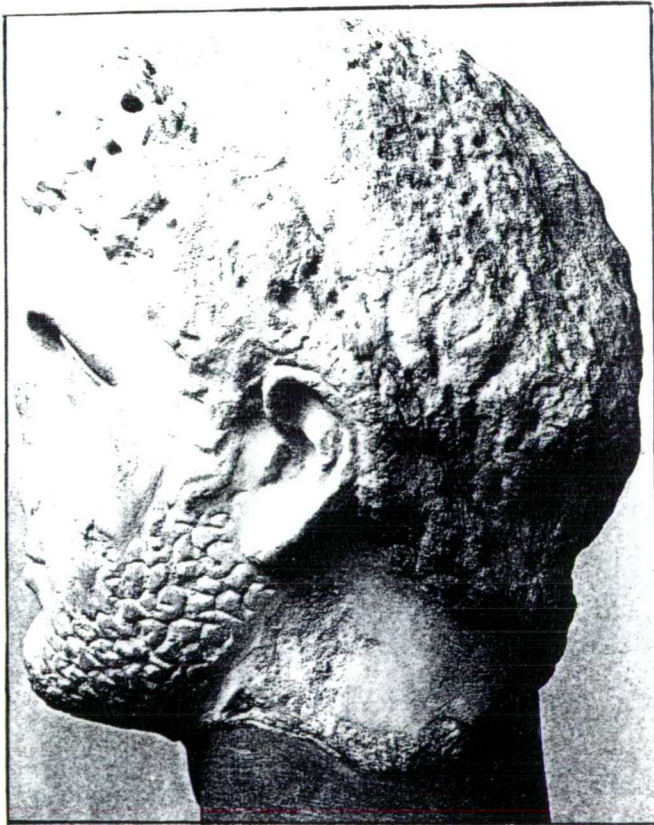
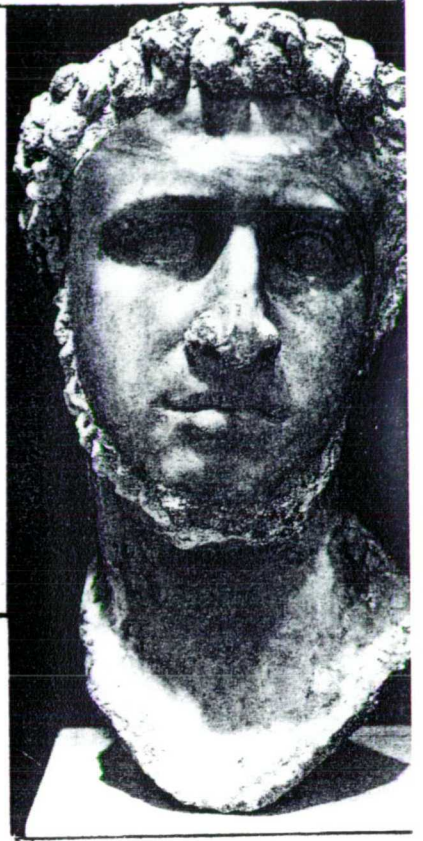
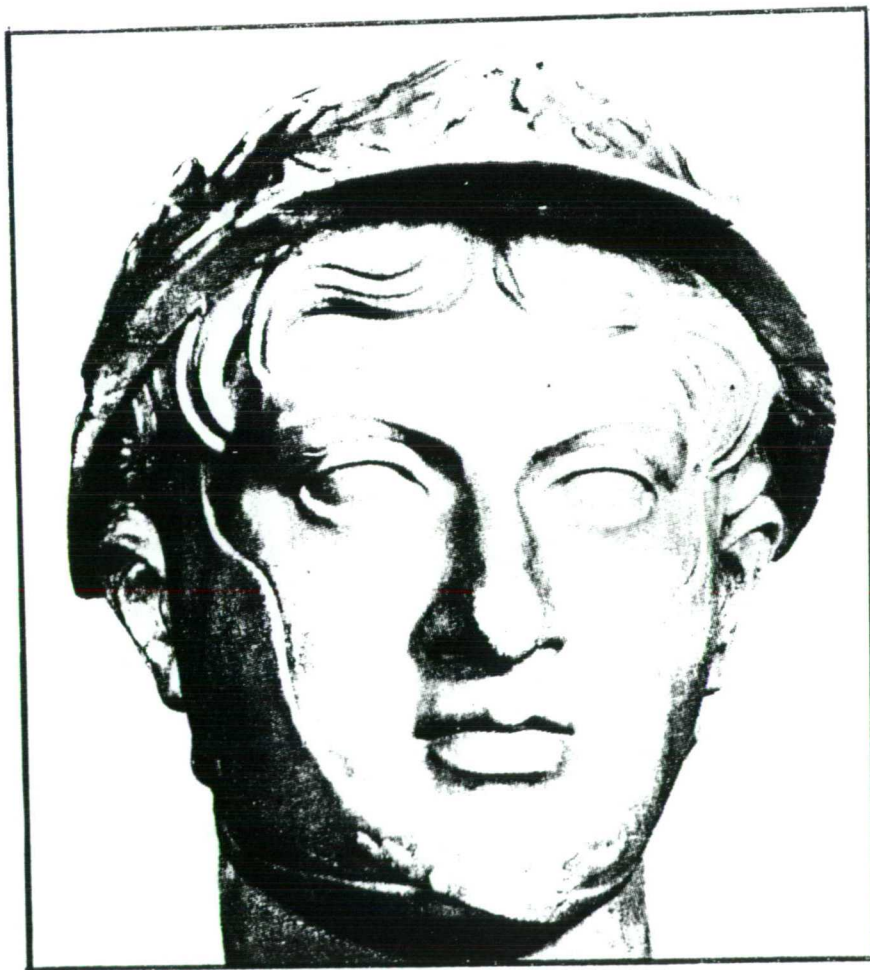
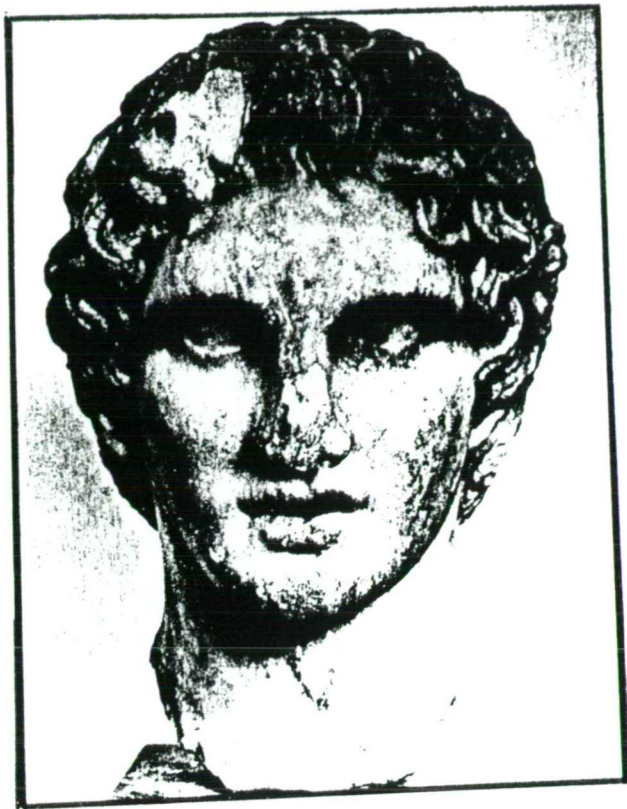


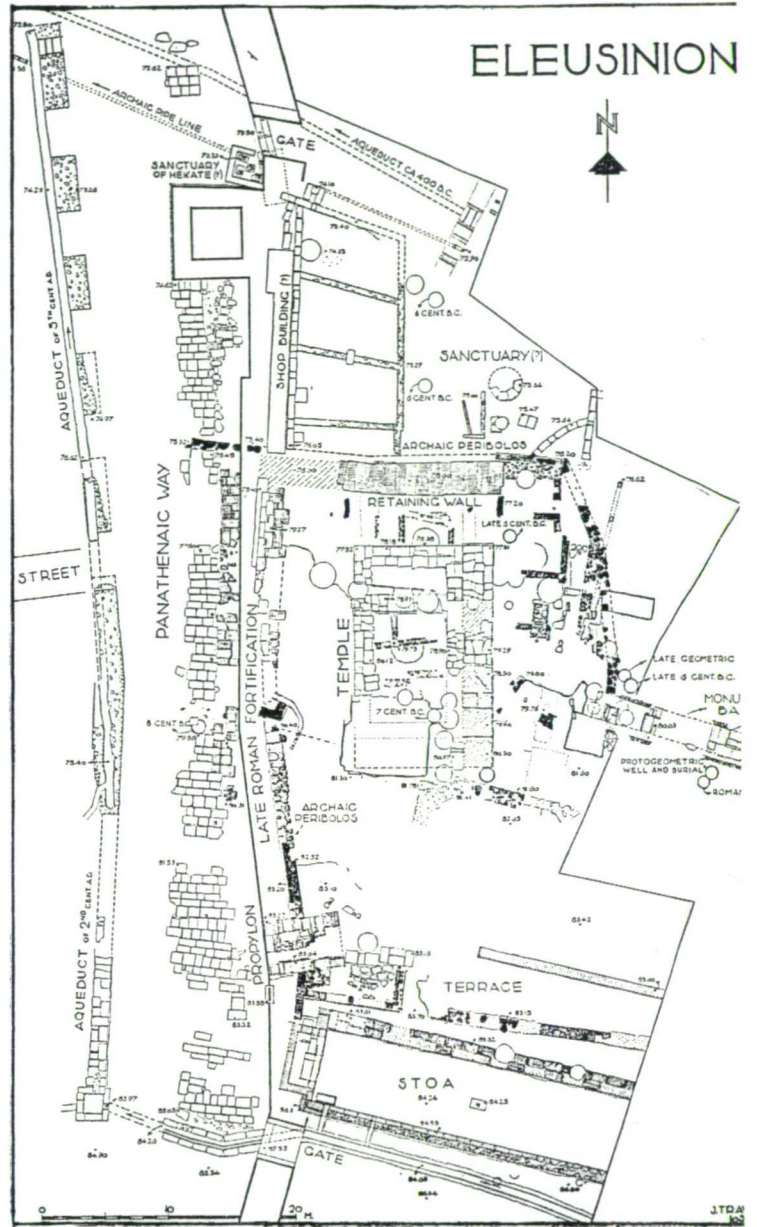
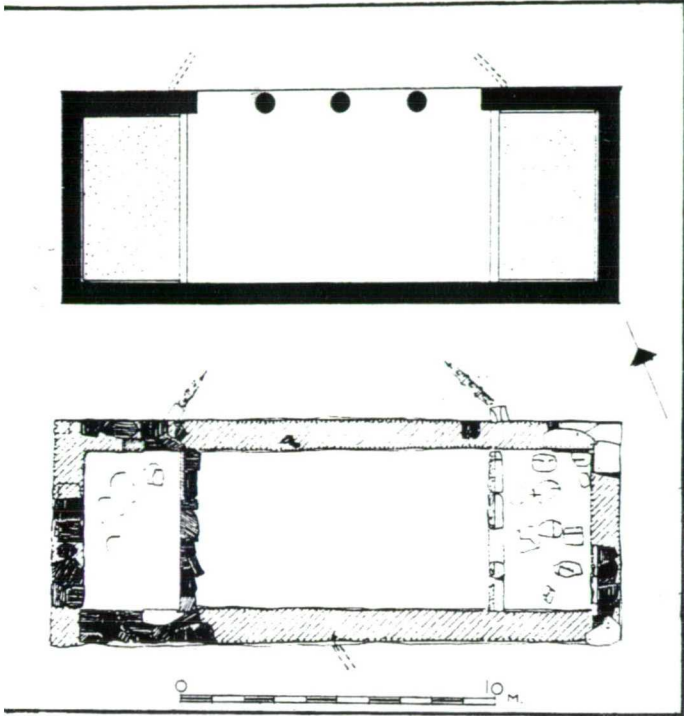
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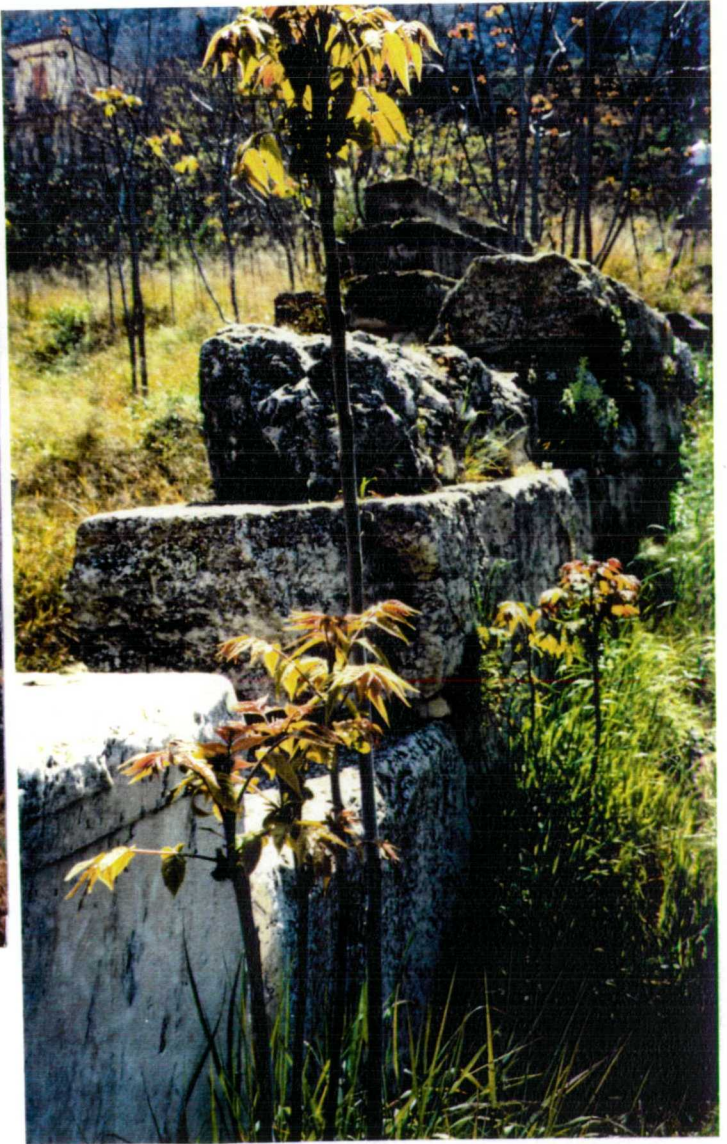












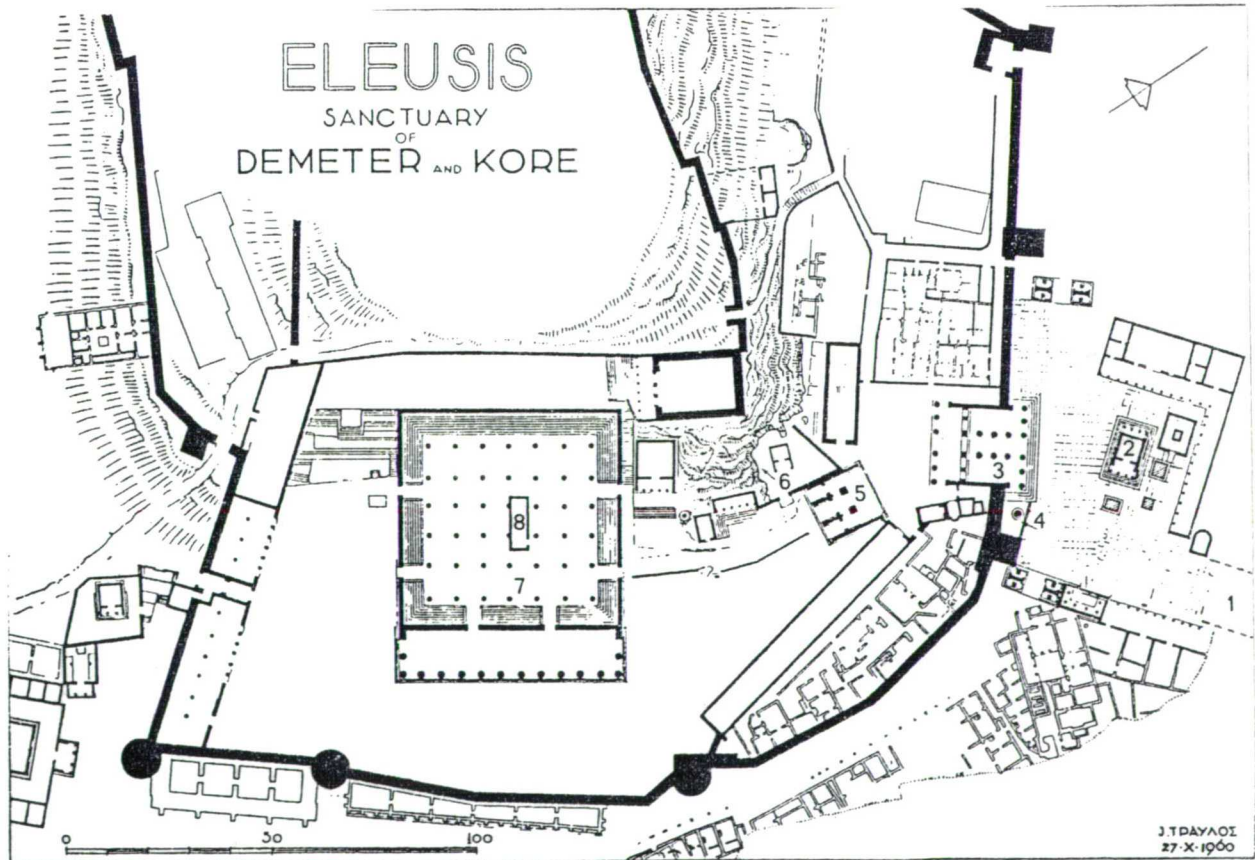
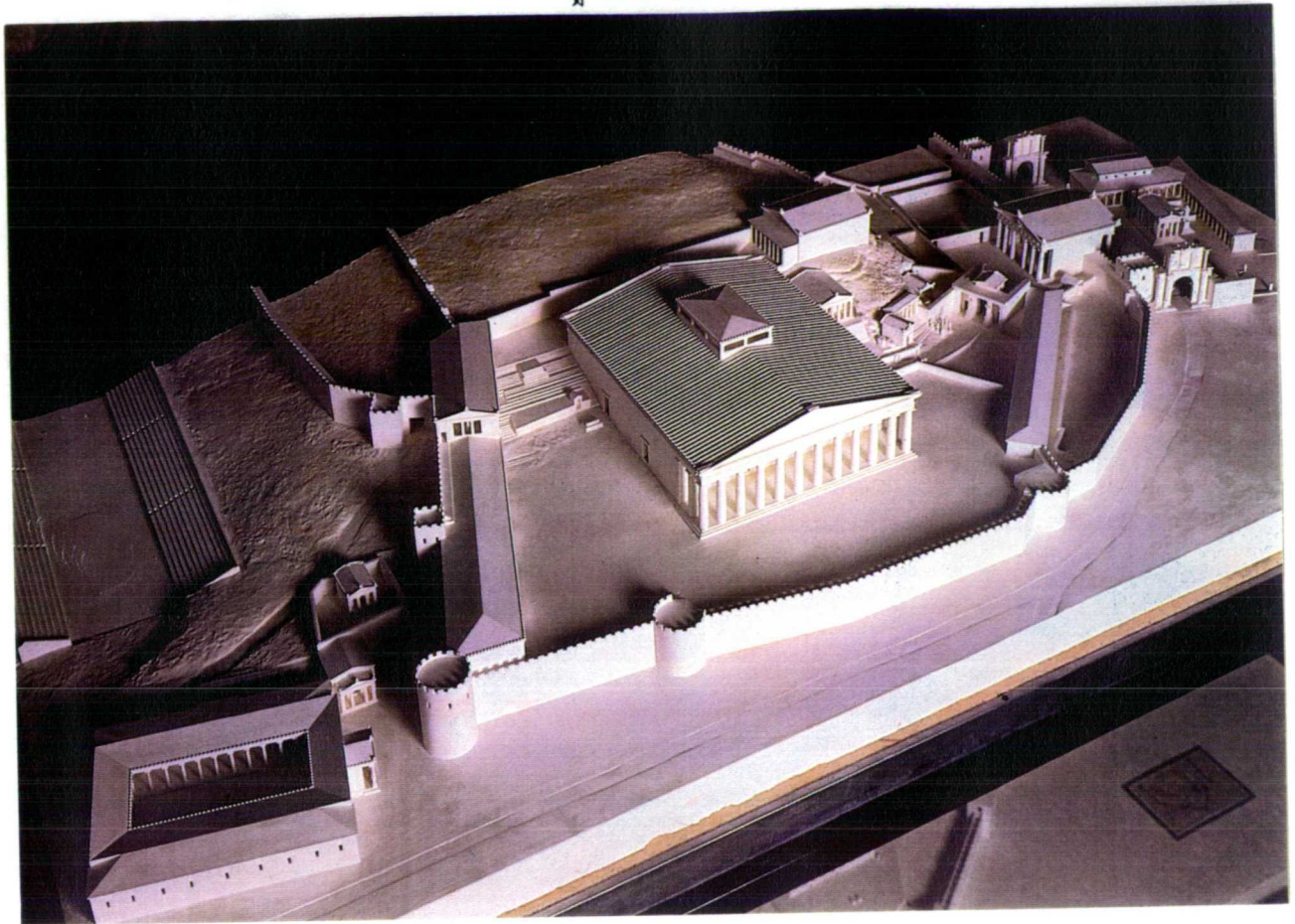


Figure 6.1 Eleusis, sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the second century AD: 1. Sacred Way; 2. Temple of Artemis; 3. Greater Propylaea; 4. Callichoron Well; 5. Lesser Propylaea; 6. Mirthless Rock; 7. Periklean Anaktoron; 8. Interior structure.

